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LAND REFORM IN AFGHANISTAN (LARA)

SOCIO-ECONOMIC & HOUSING BASELINE SURVEY
IN SELECTED SETTLEMENTS IN JALALABAD



30 April 2012

This publication was produced for review by the United States Agency for International Development. It was prepared by Peace Humanitarian Organization (PHO).

This report was prepared for the United States Agency for International Development, Contract No.306-C-00-11-00514-00, Land Reform in Afghanistan Project.

Principal Contact:	Nigel Thomson Senior Technical Advisor/Manager Tetra Tech ARD Burlington, VT Tel.: (802) 658-3890 nigel.thomson@tetrattech.com	Kelly Kimball Project Manager Tetra Tech ARD Burlington, VT Tel.: (802) 658-3890 kelly.kimball@tetrattech.com
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Implemented by:	Tetra Tech ARD 159 Bank Street, Suite 300 P.O. Box 1397 Burlington, VT 05402 USA Tel.: (802) 658-3890 Fax: (802) 658-4247
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The author's views expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the views of the United States Agency for International Development or the United States Government.

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GLOSSARY, ACRONYMS & ABBREVIATIONS

GLOSSARY

<i>Afghani (Afs or Afa)</i>	Afghan Currency
<i>Arazi</i>	Properties Department of the Ministry Of Agriculture, Irrigation & Livestock
<i>Amlak</i>	Former Name of Arazi
<i>Bakhsheesh</i>	Payment (as a Tip or Bribe) to expedite Service
<i>Banki Awiz</i>	Tariff
<i>Biswa</i>	Unit of Land Measurement; 1 <i>Biswa</i> = 20 M2
<i>Cadaster</i>	A Graphical And Textual Record That Identifies Individual Land Parcels And Certain Rights Or Attributes Or Rights Attached To Them
<i>Firman</i>	Decree of Law Or Proclamation
<i>Jerib</i>	Unit Of Land Measurement; 5 Jerib = 1 Ha (2000 M2)
<i>Gharibkar</i>	Person Not Having A Regular Salary, But Daily Wage
<i>Gozar</i>	Subdivision of Nahya
<i>Mahkama</i>	Court
<i>Makhzan</i>	Archive of The Supreme Court; Provincial Court Archive
<i>Mastofyat</i>	Provincial Revenues & Taxation Department
<i>Mashar</i>	Elder, Tribal Elder
<i>Nahya</i>	Municipality Division of A City, Sub-District
<i>Qabala/Qawala:</i>	Deed, Title
<i>Safayi</i>	Cleaning, Garbage Collection and Ditches Cleaning
<i>Safayi Kitabcha</i>	Book where Safayi Tax Payments are Recorded
<i>Sharwali</i>	Municipality
<i>Sharwal</i>	Mayor
<i>Sharyi</i>	Related to <i>shari'a</i> – anything that is approved by Sharia law

<i>Sharyi qabala</i>	Title, deed or landownership document that is legally registered, issued and recognized by the government
<i>Shura</i>	Local council, traditional assembly of elders (clan-based, tribal or ethnic), which runs community affairs
<i>Gozar wakil</i>	Gozar representative
<i>Zor-abad</i>	An informally developed area, normally grabbed by powerful elements
<i>Be-naqsha</i>	Informal. unplanned, out of city master plan
<i>Ghair-e pelani</i>	Unplanned or informally developed
<i>Urfi</i>	Customary law
<i>Urfi qabala</i>	Customary title, deed: title, deed signed by the buyer and seller of the property and witnesses that is not formally registered with the government

ACRONYMS

ACGHO	Afghanistan Geodesy And Cartography Head Office
ALA	Afghanistan Land Authority
ARAZI	ALA/Afghanistan Land Authority
GIROA	Government Of Islamic Republic Of Afghanistan
GIS	Geographic Information System
GOA	Government Of Afghanistan
GPS	Geographic Positioning System
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
LARA	Land Reform In Afghanistan
PHO	Peace Humanitarian Organization
TT-ARD	TETRA TECH - ARD
USAID	United States Agency For International Development

PREFACE

The United States Agency for International Development's (USAID) Land Reform in Afghanistan Project (the LARA Project) is managed by Tetra Tech ARD under USAID Contract No. 306-C-00-11-00514-00, with implementation assistance from its partner Peace Humanitarian Organization (PHO). The LARA Project's primary government partners are Arazi (Afghan Land Authority), Afghan Geodesy and Cartography Head Office (AGCHO), Ministry of Urban Development Affairs (MUDA), Independent Directorate of Local Governance (IDLG), as well as the Supreme Court and selected local municipalities.

The purpose of the LARA Project is to develop a robust, enduring, and Afghan-owned and-managed land market framework that encourages investment and productivity growth, resolves/mitigates land-based conflict, and builds confidence in government's legitimacy, thereby enhancing stability in Afghan society.

The Project continues USAID/Afghanistan's support for land reform and land rights strengthening that began through the earlier LTERA Project. The LARA Project currently comprises an 18-month Base Period and a possible 18-month Option Period, with a total contract amount of \$41.8 million. While this document also includes activities and tasks under the Option Period, the current Work Plan that we operate under contemplates only the 18-month Base Period, ending on July 31, 2012.

The LARA Project is designed to contribute to USAID's AO and Afghanistan National Development Strategy. Three influences will help shape the LARA Project's contributions to this objective: (1) the foundations provided by the former USAID Land Tenure and Economic Restructuring in Afghanistan (LTERA) project that provides a starting point and methods that can be adapted; (2) USAID/Afghanistan management objectives including Afghanization and conflict mitigation; and (3) the following major Project objectives:

1. Improve property rights delivery (land administration and formalization);
2. Enable all citizens (women, minorities, and vulnerable populations) to exercise their rights through public information awareness (PIA);
3. Strengthen land dispute resolution processes in order to reduce conflict and promote peace and stability;
4. Promote economic development through clear and enforceable property rights, PIA, land rights delivery, land dispute resolution;
5. Strengthen institutional, policy, and legal reform to secure property rights for Afghan citizens;
6. Provide assistance in the cross-cutting areas of gender, training, PIA, and private sector development.

These objectives are supported by three components that provide the over-arching structure for programming activities and tasks in the work plan are as follows:

1. **“Strengthen Land Tenure Security through Formalization and Upgrading of Informal Settlements”** - Support MUDA, Supreme Court, AGCHO, IDLG, Arazi, Communities and the Municipality of Jalalabad with informal settlements upgrading, formalization, cadastral mapping, women’s inheritance and land rights law, community based dispute resolution, laws for urban planning and land use regulation, and training in planning and enforcement (related to SOW Activities 1, 2, 3, 4 & 5).
2. **“Legal Framework”** - Provide limited assistance to Arazi to identify, manage, lease, and obtain revenue from Afghan government lands and provide targeted technical assistance (related to SOW Activities 6 & 7).
3. **“Capacity Building”** - Build capacity of public (AGCHO, Arazi, IDLG, MUDA, Supreme Court) and private sector service providers to improve and streamline land tenure processes to Afghan private and public sectors (related to SOW Activity 8).

1 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

One of the most limiting factors to public and donor-led investments is the limited or outdated information available, particularly that concerning people's living conditions, access to services and facilities, and aspects of land ownership – especially in the informal areas. Local authorities estimate that approximately 50 percent of Jalalabad is informal due to the unregulated expansion of settlements on the outskirts of the city. Affordable housing and land have encouraged urban growth despite the lack of basic services, poor access and in many cases, uncertainty of tenure. Accelerating urbanization pressure and lack of land use and development control are amongst the most serious concerns for the local authorities, who are frustrated by their inability to plan appropriate infrastructure investments and thus encourage equitable economic growth. Livelihoods are also affected as tenure insecurity limits their access to basic services and reduces their economic opportunities.

With the aim of assisting the authorities to address the above issues and respond to citizens needs, USAID's LARA Project has engaged in a series of survey, mapping and participatory planning activities that are geared towards the drafting of plans for the improvement of selected settlements.

In order to gain a better understanding of the provenance, level of education, health and well-being, economic situation, housing conditions, tenure arrangements of households living in the selected settlements, as well as their ability to access the property market, services related to land and general information, the LARA Project tasked Peace Humanitarian Organization (PHO) to conduct a Socio-Economic and Housing Baseline Survey in approximately 25 informal settlements within an 8km radius of the city of Jalalabad. The survey findings are based on data collected in the field between December 15, 2011 and January 15, 2012, through quantitative survey research complemented by qualitative interviews.

In the first section of its empirical analysis, the report provides a description of the living situation of the informal dwellers in Jalalabad. The second section offers a more comparative analysis of the relationship between people's living situation, sanitation facilities, and the condition of roads and the occurrence of illnesses across various settlements while determining the differences between the various settlements. In the third section, the report presents the results of a multivariate regression analysis, where the researchers examine the factors that contribute to the existence of disease, which seems to be one of the main obstacles to development and prosperity. In the fourth section, the researchers add some qualitative evidence to its analysis to cross-verify its quantitative survey findings. The report is concluded by some recommendations drawn from the survey results.

The key findings of the survey can be summarized as follows:

- Overall, the living conditions in the informal settlements are rather poor – with some variations, mainly based on individuals' socio-economic status, as well as political and tribal affiliation.
- Major migration from the rural areas took place during a change of political regime. Political instability affected the municipality regulation, personal and tenure security and justice system. As a consequence successive governments have lacked the ability to provide affordable land and influence where migrants from rural areas would settle. Informal settlements in the cities, therefore, have increased over the time and the municipalities have not been able to provide them with the required infrastructure support later on.
- Most often settlers have acquired their ownership documents immediately after building or buying the house. About two percent of these land ownership documents were acquired before the 1970s, four percent in the 1970s, 10 percent in the 1980s, 17 percent in the 1990s, 28 percent in 2000s and only three percent in 2010 and 2011. This indicates that a major proportion (45 percent) of ownership documents were acquired in the last two decades (1990s and 2000s) despite political instability.
- The majority of informal settlers (78 percent) claim that they own the house they live in, and that they have some kind of ownership document. The most common form of landownership document is the *Urfi Qabala*, acquired by 44 percent, followed by *Sharayee Qabala* held by 25 percent of the owners.
- Despite the fact that they live in an informal settlement, the legal housing situation does not seem a major problem for most people. There are very few disputes either amongst landowners or between landowners and the government. Only a very small minority of dwellers are concerned about eviction. This is due to a general sense of impunity brought about by the failure of development control and the lack of law enforcement by local authorities. In fact, 73 percent of the owners said that they are very satisfied with their land tenure security, and only 23 percent said that they are less satisfied.
- The building quality of the majority of houses is extremely poor. In general, houses are built with low quality construction material (e.g. mud, sun dried bricks and wood). A majority of houses still has outdoor toilets, bathrooms and cooking spaces or have no such facilities. Access to clean water is still a rarity and less than one out of ten people use any kind of water purification systems.
- About 90 percent of the overall streets and roads and 50 percent of the main roads in informal settlements are still unpaved. For this reason, garbage collection and public transportation are difficult and people's access to public facilities is challenging.
- One of the major problems encountered in the informal settlements is the incidence of disease and illnesses. Infectious epidemics such as malaria or pneumonia are widespread. In fact, most families are hit by disease more than two times every three months. The factors that contribute to the spread of these epidemics are the lack of clean water and the economic situation of the household.

2 BACKGROUND

An informal settlement is generally understood as an area where groups of houses have been constructed on land to which the occupants have no legal claim. In Afghanistan, informal settlements are known as *`ghair-e plani seema`* (unplanned area), *`be naqshey Koroona`* (unplanned houses) or *`zor abad`* (built by the use of force/grabbed land). This implies that these areas are settlements where housing is not in compliance with the municipality planning and building regulations. They remain unrecognized by the government authorities.

Affordable housing and land have encouraged the unchecked growth of urban areas outside the planned areas despite the lack of basic services, poor access and in many cases uncertainty of tenure. Accelerating urbanization pressure and lack of land use and development control are today amongst the most serious concerns for the local authorities, who are frustrated by their inability to plan appropriate infrastructure investments and thus encourage equitable economic growth. Livelihoods are also affected, as tenure insecurity limits their access to basic services and reduces their economic opportunities.

According to statistics, approximately 60 to 70 percent of the urban population of Afghanistan lives in informal settlements¹ which lack the most basic services and occupation rights. Jalalabad, one of the major cities of the country, has a Master Plan that is more than 30 years old and does not account for the recent population boom, flux of returnees and IDPs. Local authorities estimate that approximately 50 percent of Jalalabad is informal, due to the unregulated expansion of settlements on the outskirts of the city. In a nutshell, major migration towards the Jalalabad informal settlements took place in the following years: a) between 1970 and 1972, with President Dawood Khan's military coup; b) between 1980 and 1982 when President Dawood was assassinated, a pro-Soviet Communist regime was established; c) when Babrak Karmal took power immediately after the Soviets invasion of Afghanistan; d) between 1991 and 1992 when the communist regime was overthrown by the Mujahideen fighters and a large number of Afghan refugees returned; e) between 1991 and 1993 from Kabul and Kapisa provinces, when an armed conflict took place between the Mujahideen fractions; f) between 2001 and 2005 when the Taliban regime was overthrown and a new US-backed government established; g) in 2008 and 2009, when conditions for Afghan refugees in Pakistan became complicated and the closure of camps forced many to return to Afghanistan.

One of the most limiting factors to public and donor-led investments is the limited or outdated information available, particularly that concerning people's living conditions, access to services and facilities, and aspects of land ownership—especially in the informal areas.

¹ World Bank and UNHCR, "Research Study on IDPs in urban settings – Afghanistan", Kabul, May 2011; p. 12, Box No. 1

With the aim of assisting the authorities to address the above issues, the LARA project has engaged since its inception in a series of survey, mapping and participatory planning activities that are geared towards the drafting of plans for the physical improvement of selected settlements.

3 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The LARA team, through a series of field visits to Jalalabad carried out in August 2011, identified that there is limited or no reliable data available on the informal settlements of the city. These include settlements developed either on privately owned or government owned lands that have no legal status and/or are in infringement of the city's Master Plan. Overall, there are around 33 informally built settlements in Jalalabad and nearby districts, as identified by Municipality staff and *wakils*. Thirty of these settlements are included in LARA's project interest area. Out of these 30 settlements, 25 informal settlements are included in this baseline study survey plan, which have been randomized from the previously identified sample population of the 30 targeted informal settlements.

In order to gain a better understanding of the provenance, level of education, health and well-being, economic situation, housing conditions, tenure arrangements of households living in the selected settlements, as well as their ability to access the property market, services related to land and general information, the LARA project tasked Peace Humanitarian Organization (PHO) to conduct a Socio-Economic and Housing Baseline Survey in approximately 25 informal settlements within an 8km radius of the city of Jalalabad (see Figure 2). The survey findings are based on data collected in the field between December 15, 2011 and January 15, 2012, through quantitative survey research complemented by qualitative interviews.

This study provides the much needed statistically reliable data on the history of the settlements, their tenure arrangements, housing conditions and socioeconomic situation of the settlers; information that can be used by LARA and other aid organization to channel developmental aid and projects.

The specific objectives of this study are to:

- Elicit the residents' perspective on their living conditions, tenure security, housing investments, access to basic services, willingness to pay for services and infrastructure upgrading and future plans;
- Inform the LARA Project team who is tasked to draft a selected number of Community Upgrading Development Plans in coordination with the planning authorities about priority intervention areas and community needs;
- Improve the LARA project team's understanding about the status of the different informal settlements in Jalalabad;

- Provide baseline indicators against which the LARA project can eventually measure the impact of planning, formalization and upgrading efforts (both in terms of positive and negative impact).

4 SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The Socio-economic and Housing Baseline Survey was designed as a face-to-face representative survey of informal dwellers in the city of Jalalabad. The target population for this survey study was a poll of approximately 288,000 informal settlers across Jalalabad and nearby districts. This data comprises of the overall population living in the informal settlements, both within and outside the municipality boundaries. The surveyors used the data provided by the Central Statistics Office (CSO) at provincial level. The *Nahia* officials provided the population data at the settlement level. The respondents were wherever possible the most informed persons of a household, i.e. the heads of the households, and aged 18 and over.

The study included both qualitative and quantitative research. The quantitative study sample size included more than 400 households and a booster sample of 51 respondents. The qualitative part was comprised of 10 focus group discussions and around 12 key informant in-depth interviews, with various community leaders, business entrepreneurs in construction and real estate and government officials in Jalalabad.

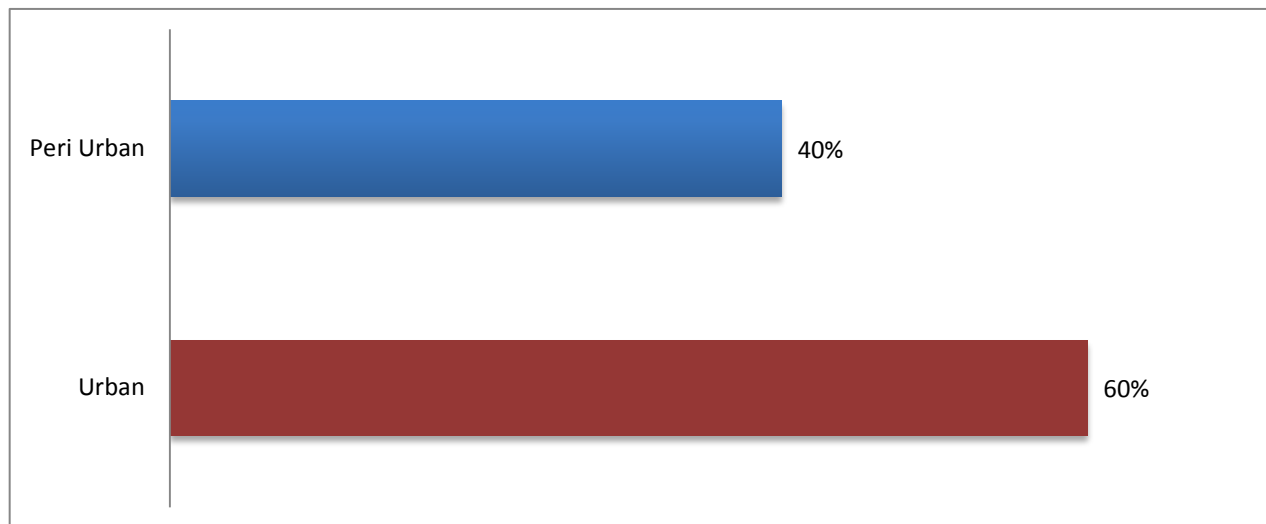


Figure 1: Geographic distribution of the study subjects

These settlements are located in either urban (60 percent) or peri-urban areas (40 percent).

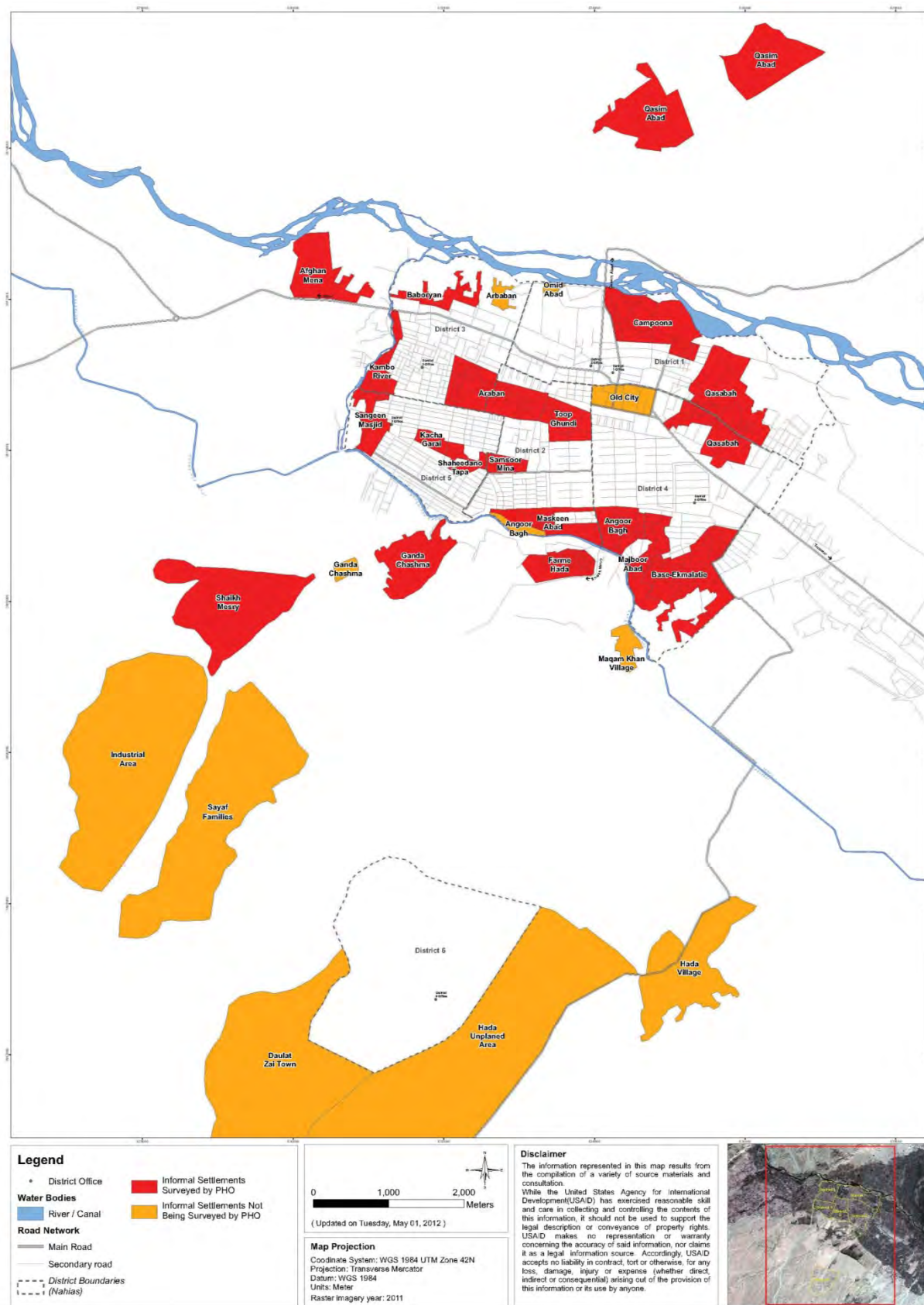


Figure 2: Target survey area

4.1 QUANTITATIVE STUDY

The quantitative, structured and semi-structured, questionnaires contained 120 questions (88 substantive; 18 demographic; and 14 survey management and quality control questions). To ensure proper statistical usage most of the questions were closed-ended. Only a few filter questions gave respondents the opportunity to add their own insights (see *Survey Questionnaire in Annex I*). The interviews were conducted between December 15, 2011 and January 15, 2012 by trained interviewers and supervisors.

While there are no recent census data neither for Afghanistan, nor for Nangarhar Province, the surveyors used the population statistics elaborated in 2006 by CSO with assistance from the United Nations and the World Food Program (WFP), which are considered generally accurate at the provincial level. At the *Nahia* (sub-district) and informal settlement levels, population data of the target populations has been provided to the LARA project team by Jalalabad Municipality officials. The surveyors used this information to design the survey sampling plan. To guarantee the representativeness of the sample, the researchers used a multi-stage random stratification process, with the cluster-level stratum being the Primary Sampling Unit – “cluster” being defined as the sub-division of an urban area.

The survey was conducted through door-to-door and face-to-face interviews within an approximate radius of 8 km. The identified target study sample was 400 households, located within the sample area frame and through the use of cluster typology of the informal settlements of Jalalabad. This sample size was calculated on the basis of a tolerable margin of error of +/- 5 percent, confidence interval of 95 percent and an assumed target population of approximately 288,000 informal dwellers (see *Survey Sampling Plan in Annex II*).

The sample was further distributed proportionally to residential characteristics across 25 randomized informal settlements in Jalalabad in accordance with the project’s specifications. Each settlement was further divided into clusters. Within the randomly selected settlements, these units of households, or “clusters”, were randomly selected from a list of available clusters and localities. The clusters served as the Primary Sampling Units (or Sampling Points) for the survey (see list of Primary Sampling Units in Annex III).

Finally, the sample was further distributed proportionally between these primary sampling units. The surveyors conducted between four and five interviews per sampling point, based on the population density of each informal settlement.

Aerial maps provided by the LARA project team and available information about the settlements were used to select a starting point within each Sampling Point for a random walk. Starting points have been selected using recognizable locations where the interviews were started and conducted according to a set pattern of interviewing every fifth residence in urban areas along the street. A screener was used to select the respondents (i.e., the most informed/ heads of household only).

4.2 QUALITATIVE STUDY

The qualitative study of the Socio-economic and Housing Baseline Survey was conducted mainly through focus group meetings, and key informant in-depth interviews. There were a total of 10 focus groups and 10 key informant in-depth interviews. The main goal of this qualitative research technique was to complement the survey and to verify its answers in an open framework. The fact that the main targets were leaders in residential and business community as well as government officials, added depth to the study, allowing for an informed comparison between the leadership and officials and informal dwellers' assessments.

The referents for the qualitative study were four types of individuals: a) state/government officials, which included officials from the municipality, ARAZI/Afghanistan Land Authority (ALA), Archive/Makhzan of the provincial court, judiciary; b) private sector entrepreneurs, which included representatives from community enterprises, construction companies and property dealers/agents; and c) informal settlers, which included members of the Community Development Councils (CDCs), *shuras*, *wakil-i gozar*, community leaders, elders, and newcomers.

The surveyors conducted in-depth interviews with informal settlers and officials using an open format for the interviews. Prepared with an interview guide, the researchers aimed at producing coherent narratives, which tackled eight key issues such as: 1) household profile and migration history; 2) land value, real estate practices and cost of living; 3) tenure arrangements and security; 4) general infrastructure, construction and investments; 5) community representation; 6) hazards; 7) sources of information; and, 8) general satisfaction (see questionnaire).

The open format technique allowed for flexibility in the topics covered. In particular, this flexibility gave respondents the freedom to explain their story in a way they deemed most appropriate. The respondent had the opportunity to organize their answers in their own terms in order to increase the response rate. In addition, the open format allowed interviewees to bring up their own issues.

5 SETTLEMENT AND HOUSEHOLD PROFILE

This section provides background information on the informal settlements and settlers of the city of Jalalabad, followed by their socio-economic and housing status.

5.1 GENDER AND AGE

Most of the survey respondents were male, which comprised more than 68 percent of the study subjects. The considerably higher male response rate can be explained by the fact that men, as the most informed members or heads of household (in regards to the study topics), were the natural respondents of the survey. Furthermore, as indicated below, survey results show that male dwellers also make up the majority of household members.

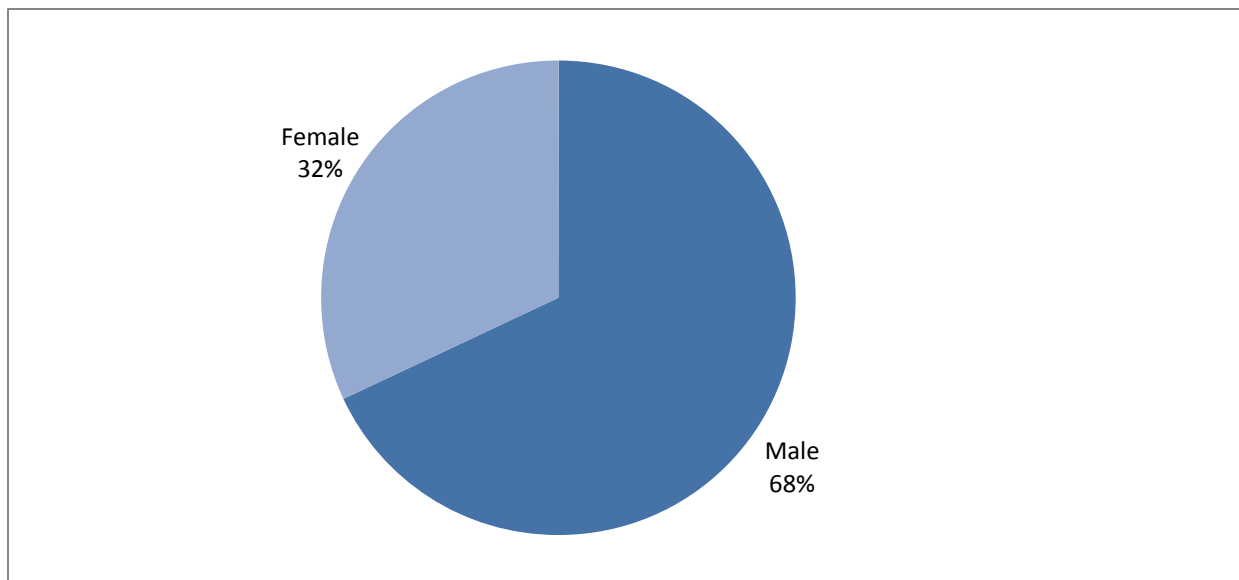


Figure 3: Gender of the respondents

Most of the population in the survey target area is male with a population rate of 1.2; however, the national level male/female population rate is 1.05. The reasons for female population being lower than male are most probably due to higher health/mortality rate (145.47 deaths/1,000 live births - 2011 est.)² for female children and mothers due to poor sanitation and sanitary conditions and low quality of health facility services in the target areas. Another possible reason for the lower female population figure could be attributed partially to the conservative beliefs of respondents in regards to gender. The majority of respondents originate from rural areas, and may have been unwilling to provide information on the female members of their households.

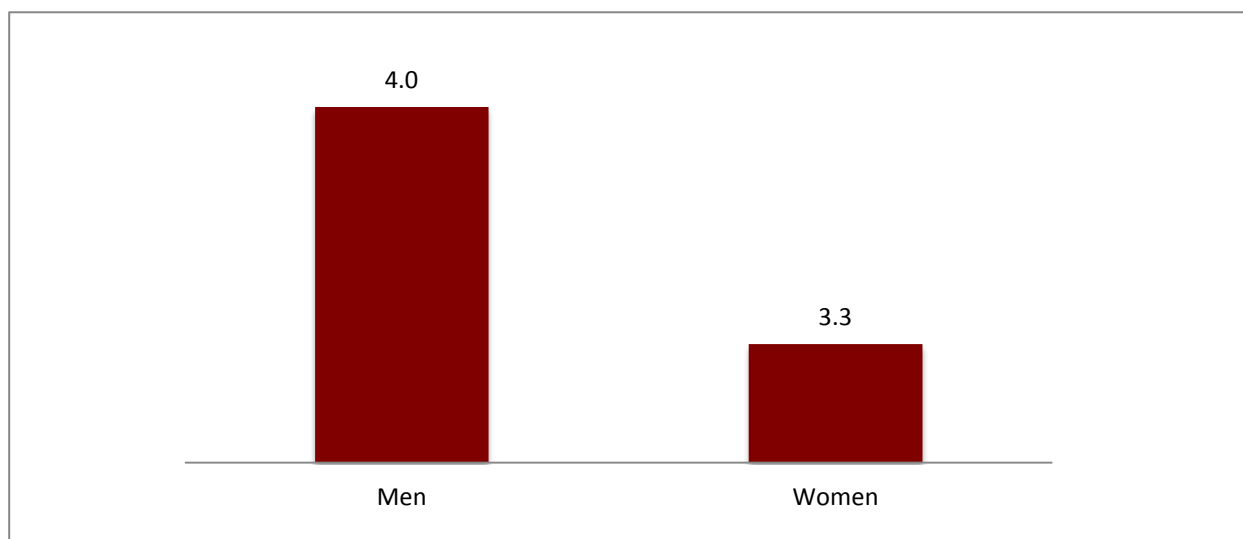


Figure 4: Population ratio (male/female): 1.2

5.2 RESPONDENT AGE

A clear majority (94 percent) of the study respondents were aged between 18-50, with a small minority, 6 percent, over 60 years of age.

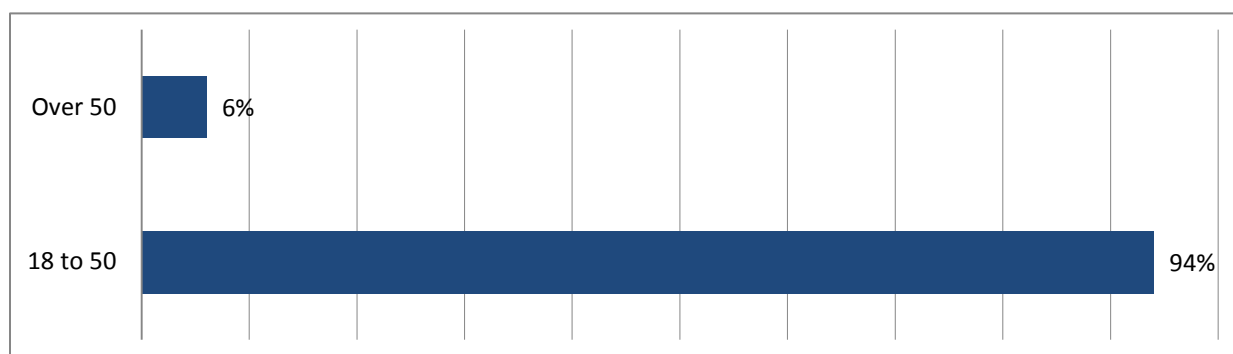


Figure 5: Age of the respondents

² http://www.indexmundi.com/afghanistan/demographics_profile.html

As an indicator of survey reliability, the increased percentage of the respondents being aged 18 to 50 is estimated to be due to the following reasons: a) members of the household of this age category have higher literacy rate; b) are the most involved, thus informed, members of the household; and c) have increased local knowledge.

5.3 PLACE OF BIRTH

The majority, or 69 percent, of the respondents were born in Nangarhar, 14 percent in Laghman, 10 percent in Kunar and the remaining 7 percent were born in other various provinces of Afghanistan (such as Nooristan, Logar, Balkh and Kunduz), or in neighboring Pakistan.

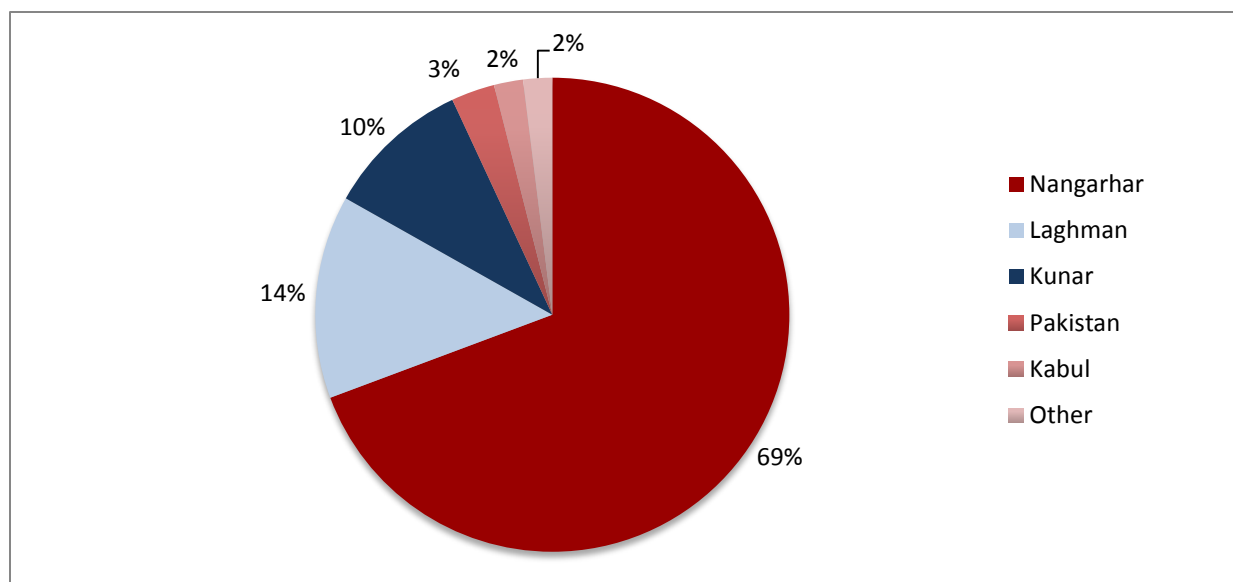


Figure 6: Respondents' place of birth

5.4 ORIGIN

Origin-wise, there is a high homogeneity of the residents in the informal settlements in Jalalabad. More precisely, a major segment, nearly 70 percent, of the population in the informal settlements is comprised of individuals native to Nangarhar province. Respectively, another 15 and 11 percent are originally from Laghman province and Kunar province. The remaining 4 percent are split between other provinces, i.e. Kabul, Paktya, Balkh, Kapisa and Nooristan provinces. A portion of this remaining 4 percent was born in neighboring Pakistan.

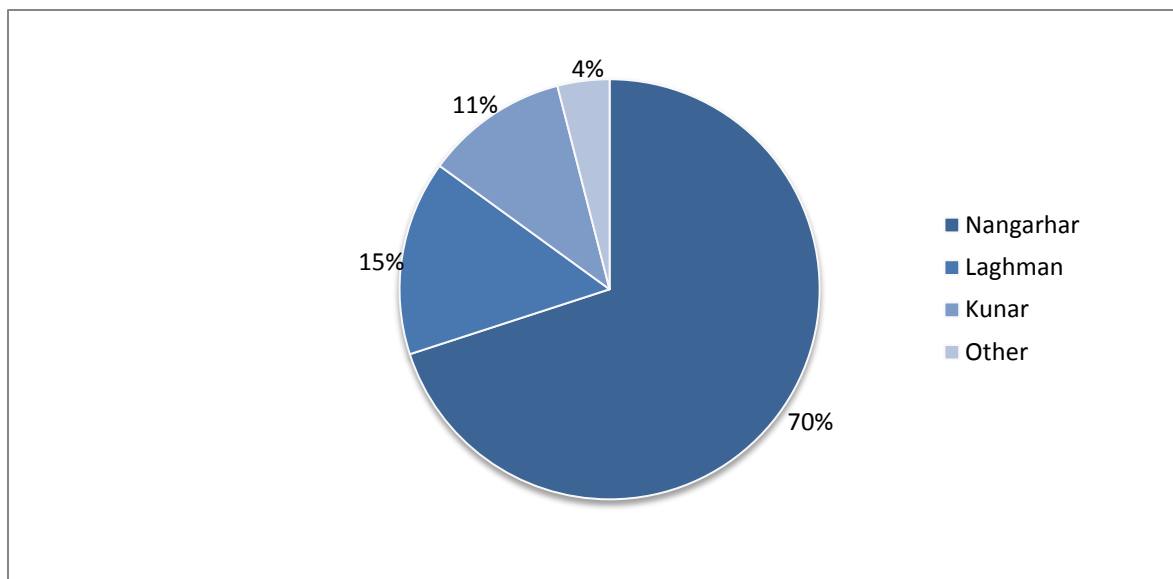


Figure 7: Origin by province



Figure 8: Map showing origin of the informal settlers of Jalalabad (Source: PHO)

A vast majority of these dwellers (87 percent) originated from rural areas and only 13 percent said that they moved to these settlements from an urban area.

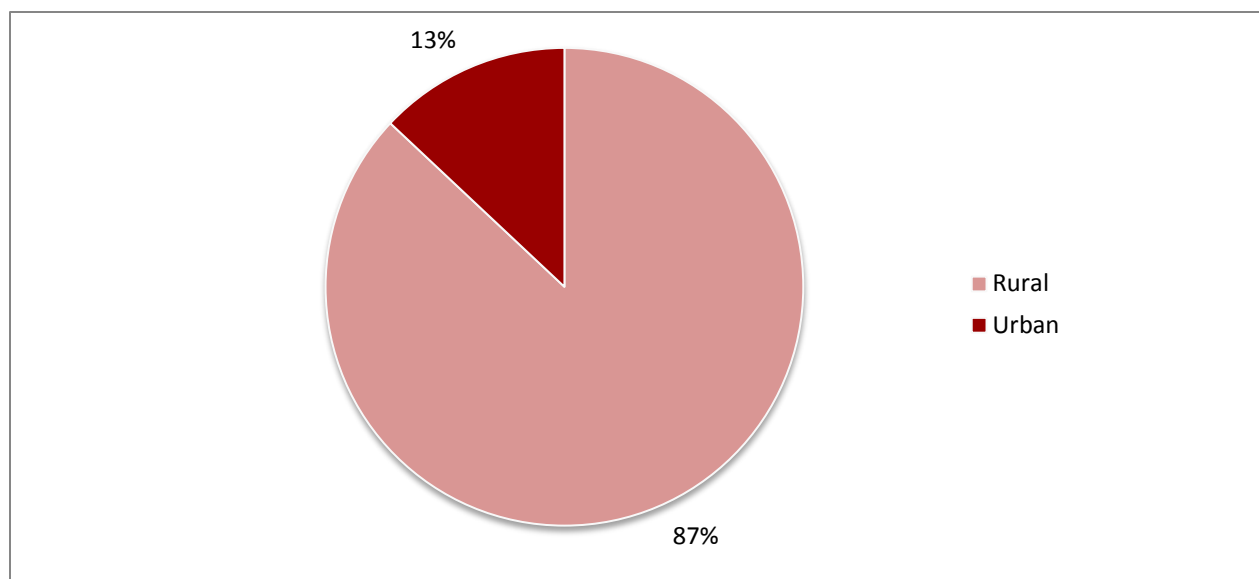


Figure 9: Origin by rural/urban geographic code

More than 80 percent speak Pashto as their mother tongue. The other prominent language is Dari, which is spoken by approximately 17 percent of all settlers. Pashayee is spoken by 3 percent of the informal population of Jalalabad.

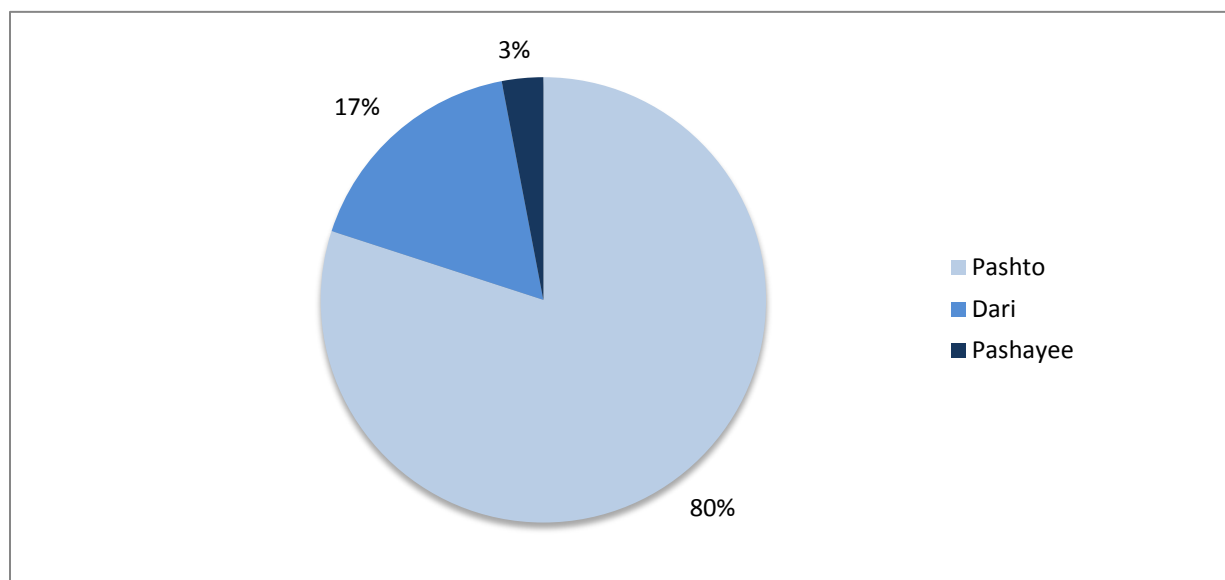


Figure 10: Language of the respondent



Figure 11: Interview process in one of the target areas

In terms of ethnicity, the overall majority is Pashtoon, who make up 85 percent of all respondents. Aside from Pashtoons, there are minority groups of Tajiks, who comprise another 10 percent of the settlers, and Pashayees comprise 3 percent. The remaining 2 percent of the population is composed of other ethnicities (which include Arab, Nooristani, Aimaq and Kirgiz).

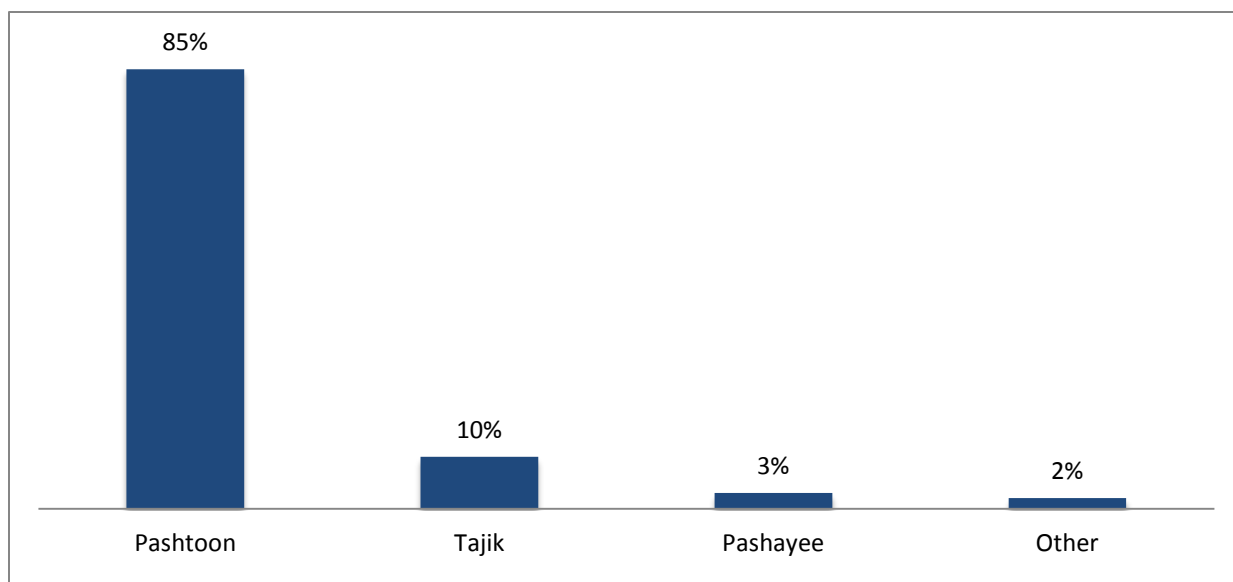


Figure 12: Ethnicity of the respondent

5.5 MIGRATION

The history of migration towards the informal settlements extends past the 1970s. About 2 percent of the inhabitants of the Jalalabad informal settlements are estimated to have settled there before the 1970s, 8 percent in the 1970s, 11 percent in the 1980s, 22 percent in the 1990s, with a peak of 37 percent after 2000, and about 3 percent in after 2010 (years 2010 and 2011 alone).

From the survey data we can see that the vast number of people migrated to the informal settlements in the 1990s and 2000s. The main reason is that in the early 1990s, after the fall of the Communist regime, a major proportion of Afghan returnees settled down in urban quarters rather than going back to their villages. Year wise, the largest migration took place in late 2009, when the living conditions for Afghan refugees in Pakistan deteriorated, and the security situation in rural Afghanistan, became worse. The second largest migration wave took place in 2001, the time of the fall of the Taliban and the establishment of a new US-supported government. Many Afghans who were refugees abroad returned home, as opportunities increased and livelihoods enhanced.

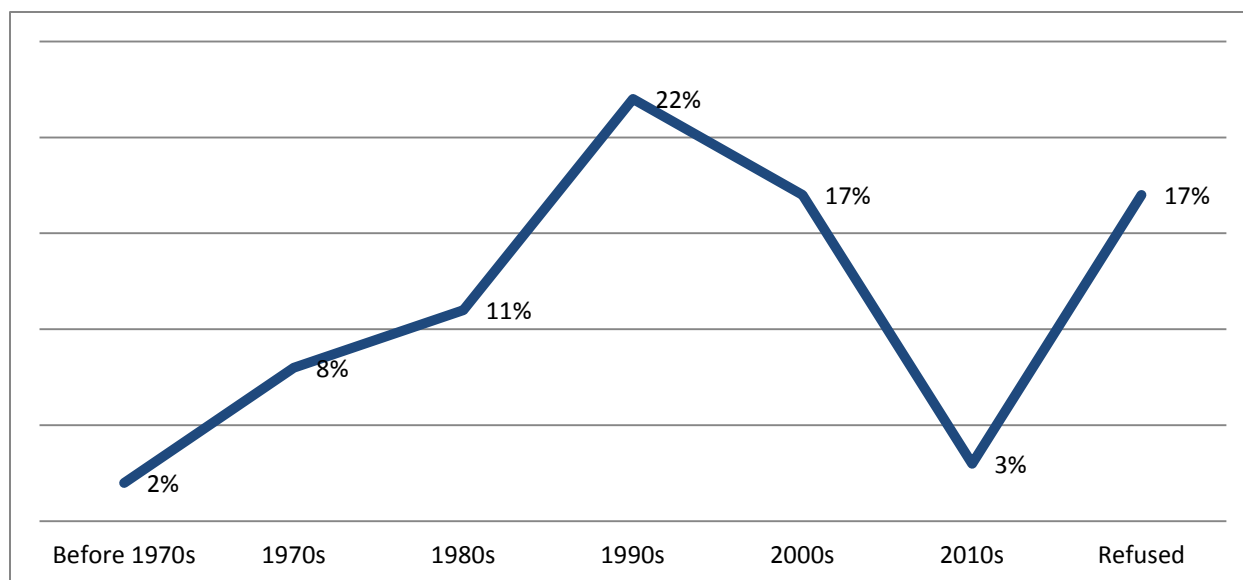


Figure 13: Timeframe of settling in the area

The cross-referencing of the time frame of settling in the survey areas and pull and push factors indicates that the major reasons for increased rural population moving to the city of Jalalabad have been employment opportunities, affordability, security and access to services. Indeed access to health, education, employment and utilities services in urban Nangarhar are far better compared to rural Nangarhar.

In fact, a major proportion of returnees from Pakistan who were originally from a rural area, have not gone back to their villages, but rather settled down in urban quarters, mostly informal. This is because these refugees became accustomed to primary facilities while living in urban or peri-urban areas in exile. These facilities were not available in their villages, hence they re-settled in Jalalabad instead.

The principle reason behind a high number of the informal settlers from Nangarhar province is the proximity of their places of origin to Jalalabad. In addition, rural citizens from Nangarhar are more likely to know people in these areas that can assist them in identifying a place to buy or rent and host them until they close a deal.

In the past decades, large pieces of land in the city or nearby villages have gradually become available, either because landlords have sold their property, gaining from the rising real estate prices, or because of the political instability, whereby landlords have lost land to influential land grabbers. Regime changes have influenced the land sector throughout Afghan history. Many activists from rural areas, upon the victory of revolution, have moved to the urban centers of the country in search for a better life. In the ensuing chaotic situation, however, municipality regulations, personal and tenure security, and justice system have been badly affected. As a result, local authorities have lacked the ability to secure government lands especially those areas grabbed by influential figures close to the leadership. Gradually, as the original settlers moved up the property ladder, plots were sold to newcomers, making it very difficult to trace the first informal occupant. All of this has happened without taking into consideration city's master plans.

This pattern is supported by the findings of this study. Major movements have taken place between the years 1970 and 1972, coinciding with President Dawood Khan's military coup against King Zahir Shah. Dawood's coup was strongly backed by the Afghan military and Communist party in ousting Zahir Shah after about 40 years of reign.

A second major movement took place between the years 1980 and 1982 when his initial allies, the Communists, assassinated President Dawood and formed a pro-Soviet Communist regime. The Soviets soon invaded Afghanistan and appointed Babrak Karmal as leader of the country. For the first time, rural Afghanistan became insecure because of the attacks of Soviets and their ally local Communist government to defeat the Afghan Mujahideen. Most rural Afghans thus took refuge in neighboring countries. Supporters of the regime and those who did not have major issues with the regime moved to the urban centers of their provinces.

A third major migration took place between 1991 and 1992 when the communist regime was overthrown by the Mujahideen fighters and a large number of Afghan refugees, the majority of whom were originated from rural areas, moved to the urban quarters of the country. In addition, people migrated from Kabul and Kapisa provinces where an armed conflict took place between the Mujahideen fractions. Nangarhar was comparatively peaceful and secure area of the country.

The fourth major migration took place between 2001 and 2005, when the Taliban regime was overthrown, a new US-backed government established and Afghans returned to their home from exile. A large migration wave took place in 2009, when conditions for Afghan refugees in Pakistan worsened and most of them were forced to leave. Jalalabad served as one of the ideal options for the returnees from Pakistan for it had better employment, infrastructure, and services such as health, education, streets and roads.

5.6 MIGRATION ORIGIN

A major proportion, 65 percent, of residents in the informal settlements of Jalalabad has migrated, been displaced or took refuge in another country. More than two-thirds of returnees in Jalalabad returned from Pakistan. For the rest of the settlers there is no precise pattern of origin, except for the fact that the overall majority of them came from a rural area. Approximately 56 percent of those who migrated or took refuge are estimated to have returned after 2000, 33 percent in 1990s, and approximately 4 percent returned in 2010s (in the years 2010 and 2011 alone). Despite the fact that they are informally developed, the settlements are, relatively, strongly entrenched, as half of the population has lived there for more than 10 years now.

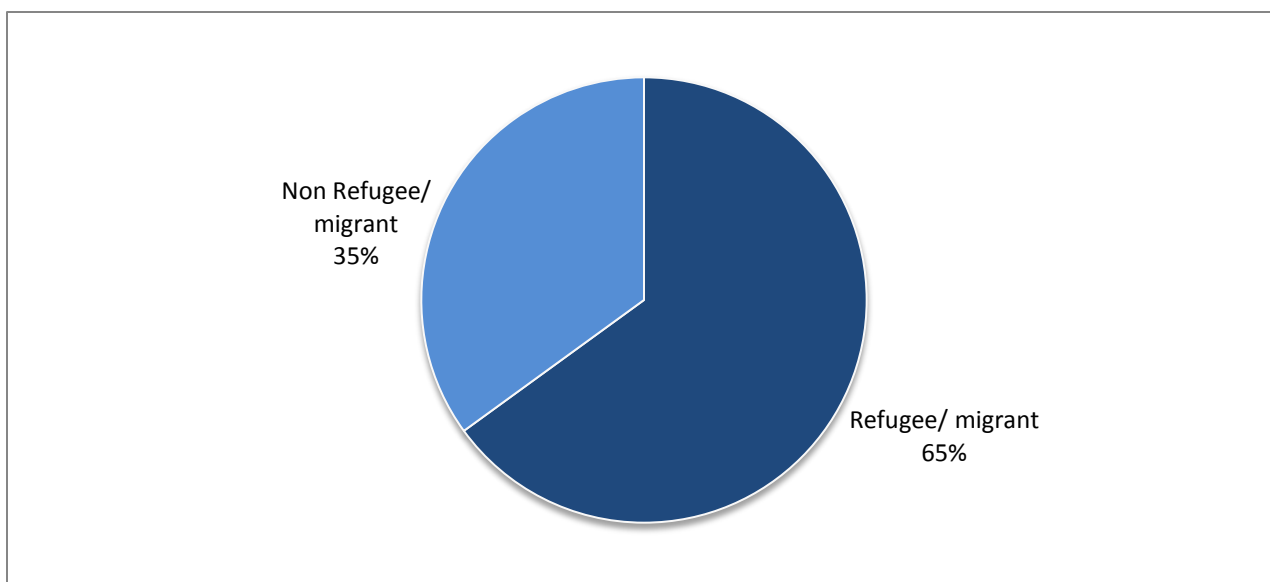


Figure 16: History of migration, displacement, refuge

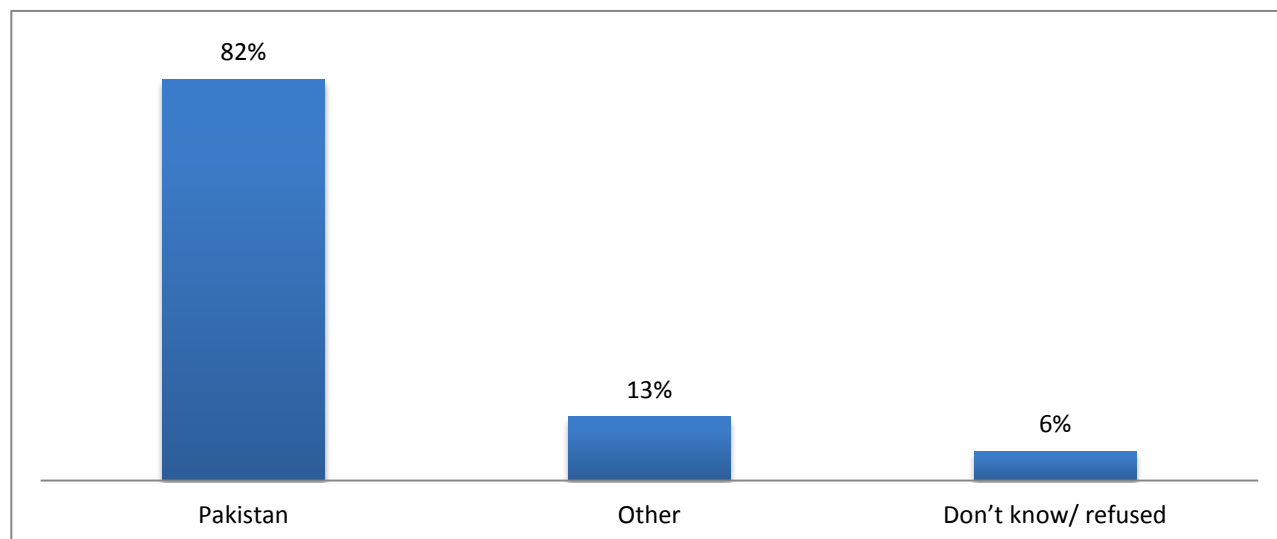


Figure 14: Figure 15: Last returned from

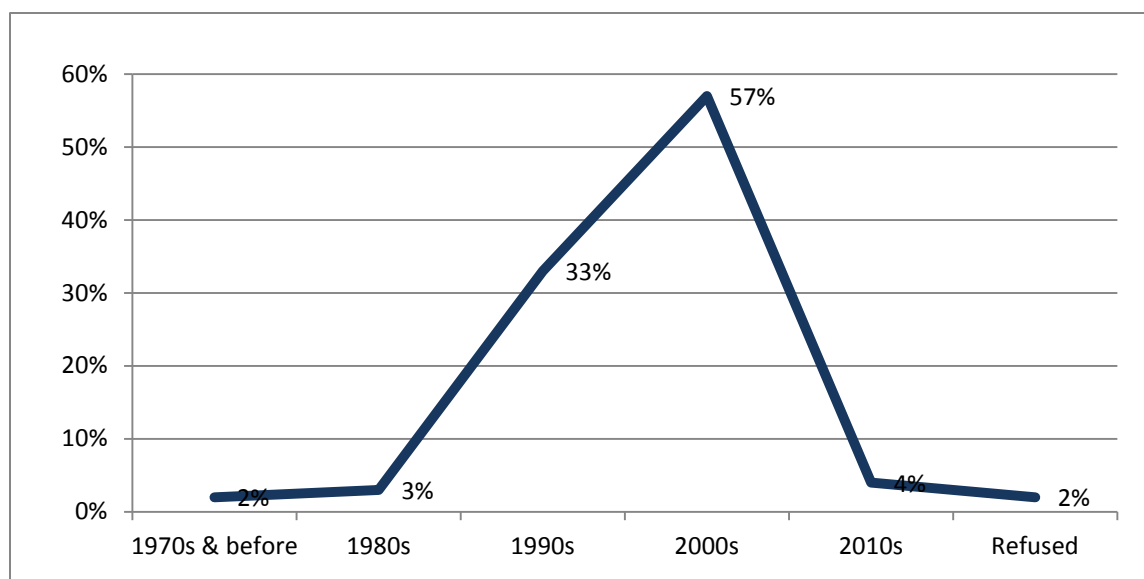


Figure 17: Timeframe of returning from refuge, migration & displacement

After moving to Jalalabad, only about 40 percent of the informal dwellers that migrated or took refuge made a house move. These settlers, who had previously moved, have made additional zero to 12 moves, with an average moving of three times and a median moving time of one time after settling in Jalalabad.

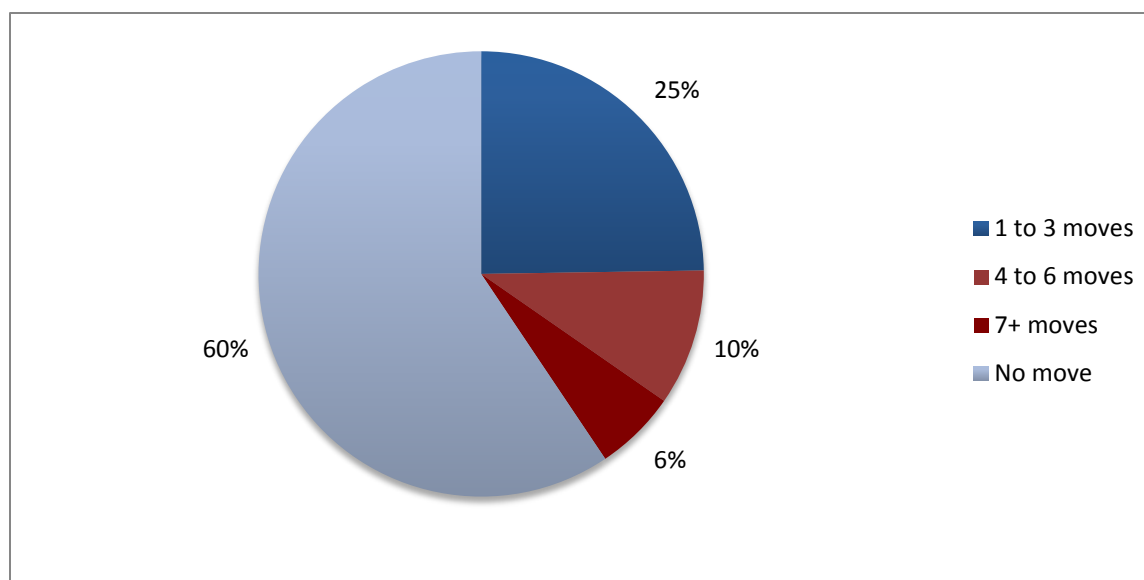


Figure 18: House moves after settling in Jalalabad

5.7 PULL & PUSH FACTORS

The reasons why people moved to a particular settlement are diverse. Major pull factors are ranked in the following order: employment (25 percent), cheap land (20 percent), security (7 percent), family-owned property (11 percent), no cost land (7 percent), and service access (7 percent). A small proportion (about 2 percent) of the respondents has said they moved in because they were invited by relatives to do so.

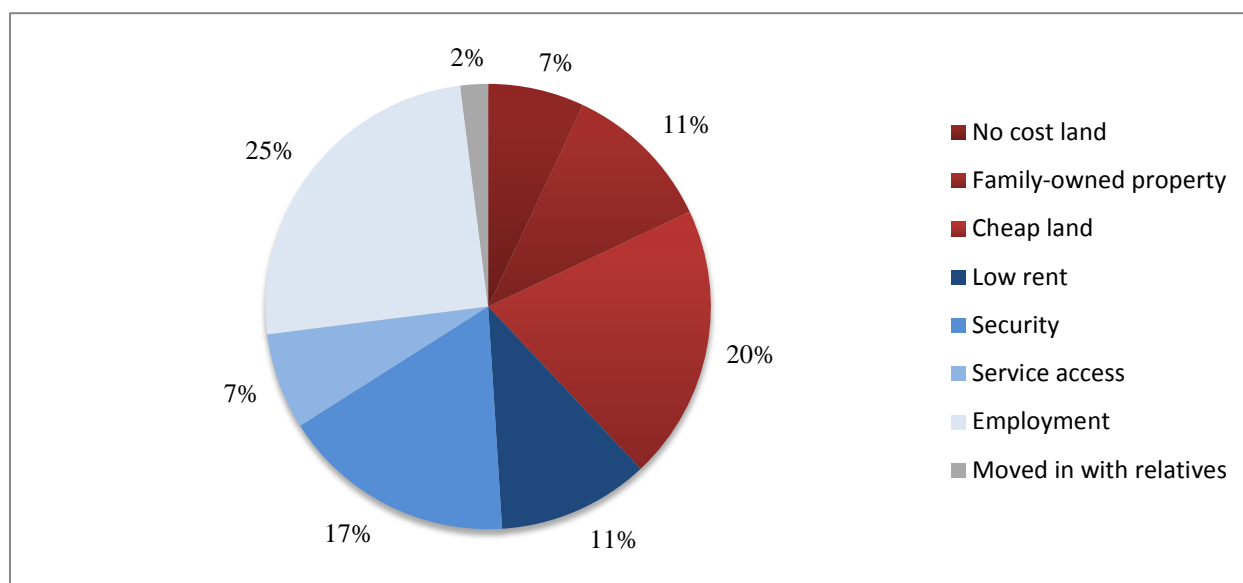


Figure 19: Reasons for settling in the particular informal settlement

Unemployment, under-employment and poverty in the rural areas are amongst the key push factors. Insecurity threatening the lives and livelihoods of rural citizens is an increasing major push factor that forces people to leave their home villages.

5.8 EDUCATION

The settlers are characterized by diverse but low educational backgrounds. Approximately 23 percent of all households are completely illiterate; they do not have any member with any kind of formal education. This is a major development concern. About 19 percent of the households have at least one member with a primary education, 10 percent of the households have at least one member with a secondary education, 31 percent of households have at least one member with a high school education, and 17 percent are estimated to have at least one member of their family with a university education.

On the positive side, it is remarkable that approximately 48 percent of all respondents' households have at least one member with a high school education. However, these numbers should be read with care since they only indicate the highest level of education of any household member. In addition, it is peculiar that households where a family member has attained a relatively high educational level, compared to families with no or low education level, have to settle in an informal settlement. On the negative side, it is

preoccupying that nearly a fourth of all families are completely illiterate Looking at the pull factors and the economic condition of the settlers, it seems that the major reason the dwellers have settled in an informal area is economic hardship, which, while being dominant among the less educated individuals, can affect everybody.

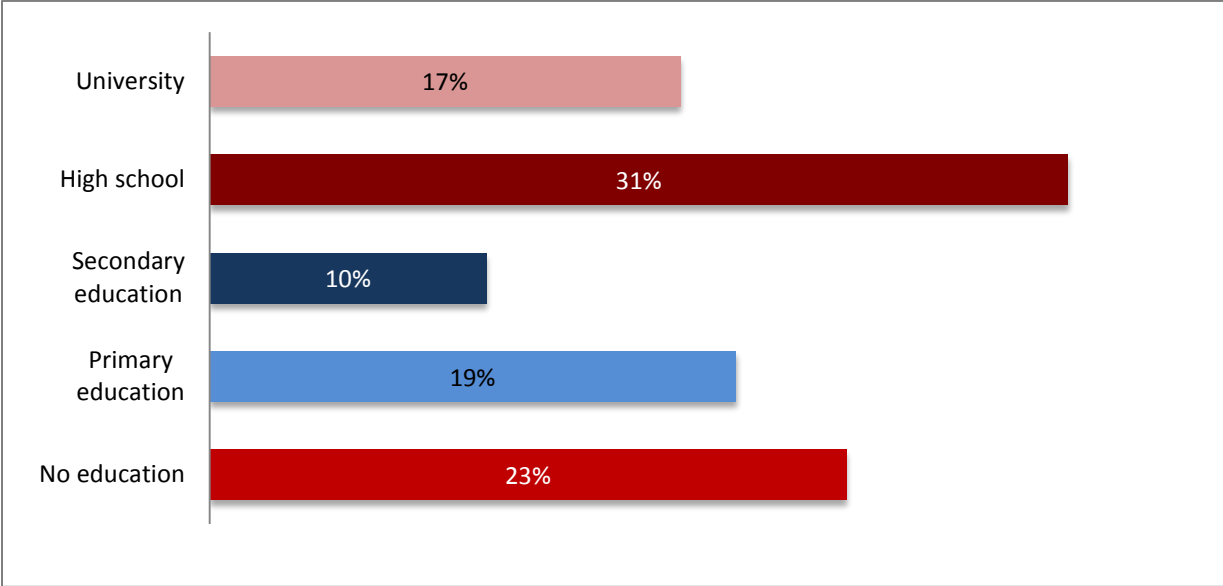


Figure 21: Highest level of education in the household



Figure 20: Children playing in the street

6 ECONOMIC PROFILE

6.1 INCOME

The survey data on the economic situation shows that the informal dwellers of Jalalabad live in rather dire economic conditions. The residents' disposable monthly income falls below AFA 15,000 (US\$ 300) for nearly 83 percent of the households—less than \$10 per day for the whole family. Approximately 31 percent of the households make less than AFA 5,000 (US\$ 100) on a monthly basis, and 37 percent between AFA 5,001 and AFA 10,000. These households, respectively, live with less than AFA 150 (about US\$ 3) and AFA 150 - 350 (US\$ 3-7) a day for the household.

The average number of household members is 13 people and if the household with an AFA 15,001 to 20,000 income strata is added, then approximately 90 percent of households live with less than \$400 a month. Adding 20,001 to 30,000 income strata into it, it indicates that 96 percent of the people live with less than \$1.5 per day. Only very few settlers, 3 percent, are in the upper income strata and make more than AFA 30,000 per month.

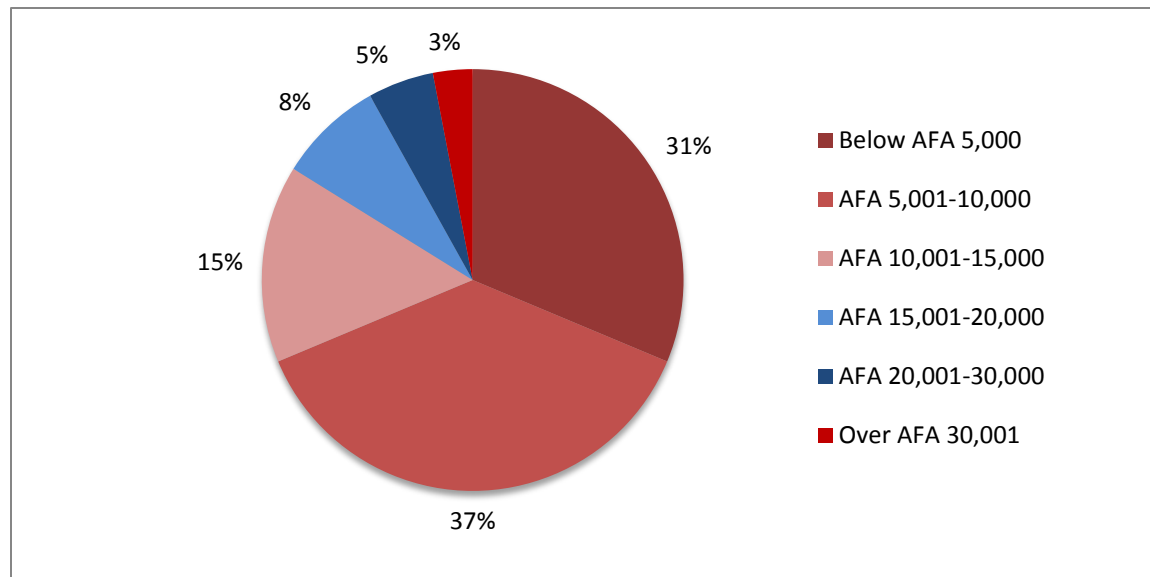


Figure 22: Level of Household Income

6.2 SOURCES OF INCOME

Income sources vary greatly between dwellers. A major source of income for informal settlers is daily wage (32 percent). Approximately 22 percent of the settlers have a regular monthly salary, 19 percent have income from a shop or store, 17 percent from casual labour, 6 percent from workshops, and the remaining 4 percent have other sources of income (include livestock, fruit production, farming, pension and private business). The survey results indicate that a major proportion of the population (49 percent), do not have sustainable livelihoods or decent jobs. This results in poverty, as well as poor health and socio-economic conditions in the informal settlements of Jalalabad. About one fourth of the respondents are also estimated to have a secondary income in equally diverse fields as their primary income.

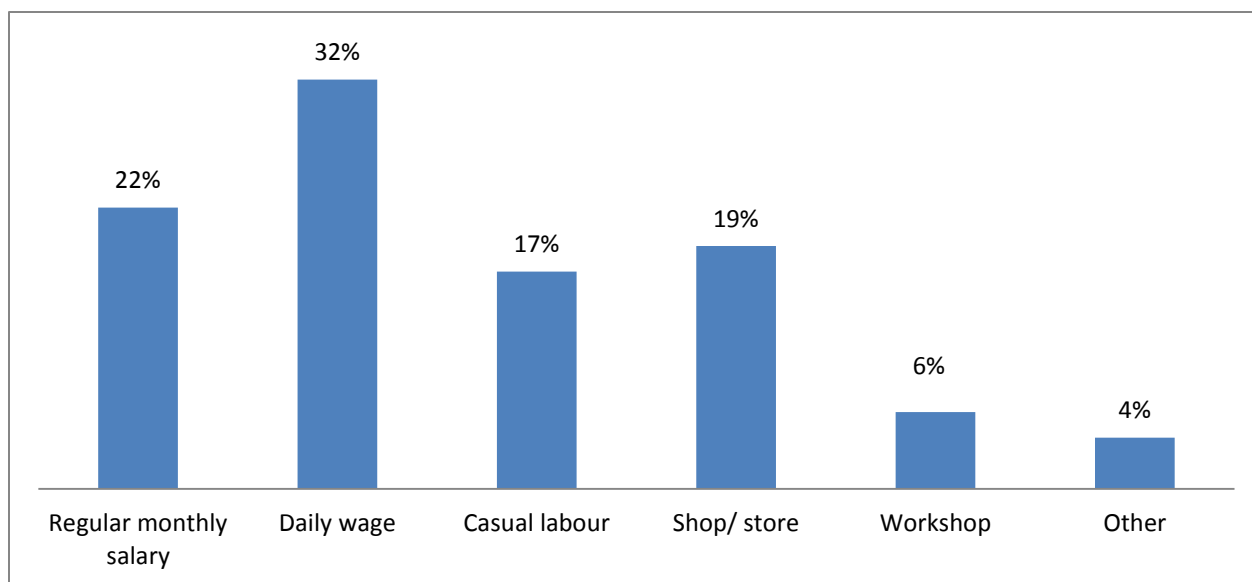


Figure 23: Primary source of household income



Figure 24: Secondary source of household income



Figure 25: Local carriage called Zaranj used as an income generating sources for some of the dwellers

The type of employment that the dwellers engage in are diverse and range from working for government to private sector employment or manufacturing work. Approximately 38 percent are government workers, 19 percent shopkeepers, 9 percent teachers, 9 percent NGO or private company workers, 7 percent, mechanics, painters or tailors, and 3 percent are farmers.

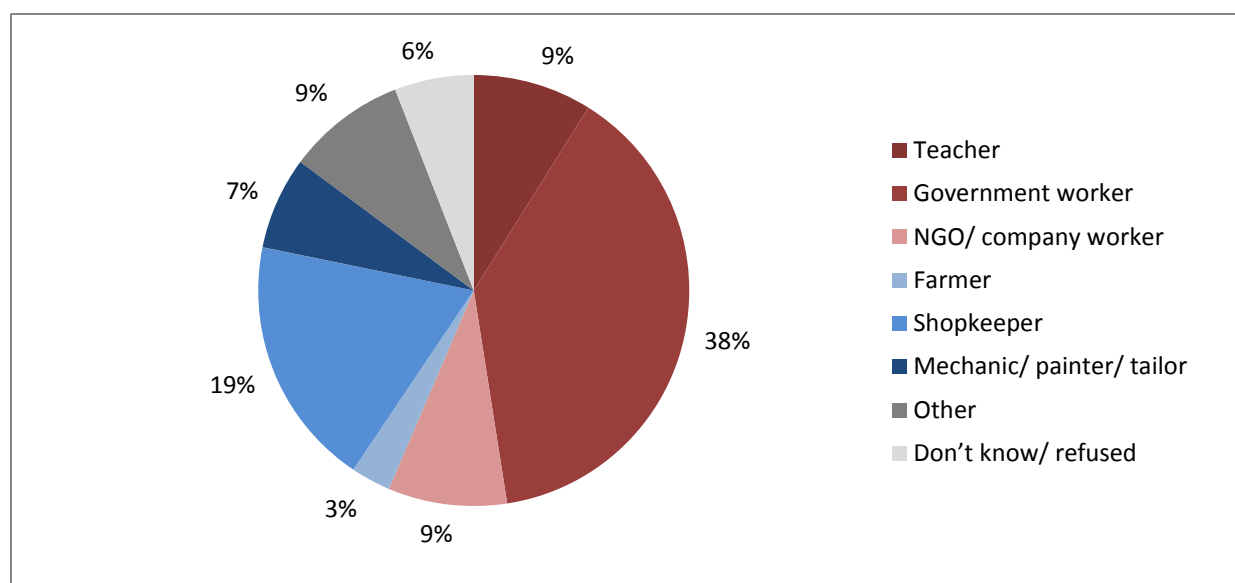


Figure 26: Major employments

Depending on the size of the household, there are between one and 12 income earners. Nearly half of the households have one income earner, approximately a quarter of households have two income earners, 19 percent have three to four income earners and 6 percent have five or more income earners.

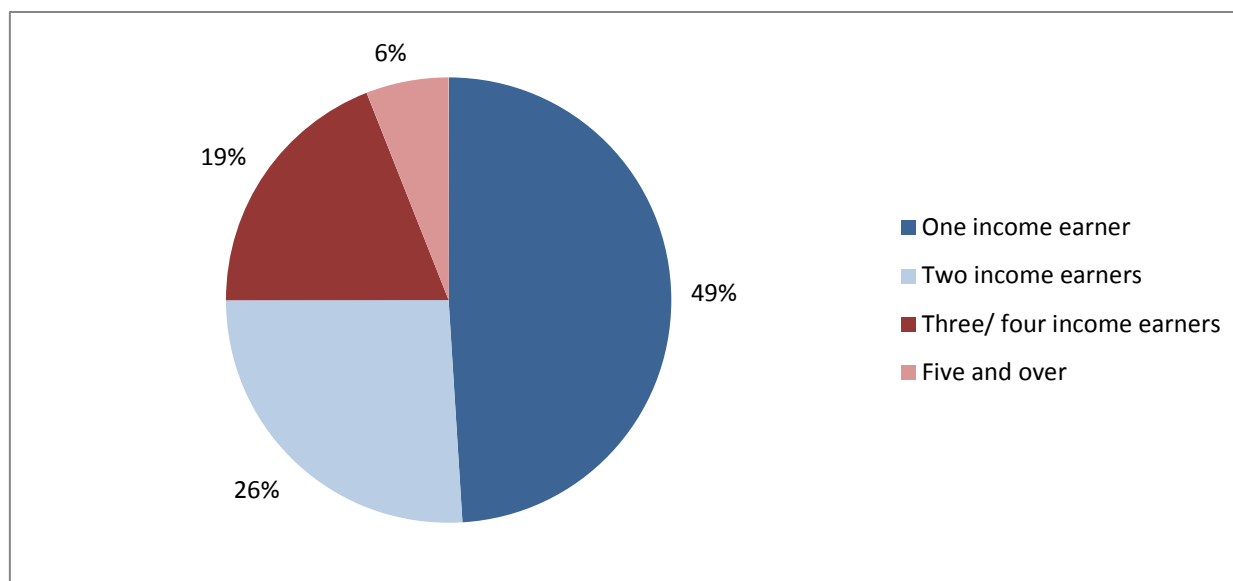


Figure 27: Number of income earners in the household

6.3 EXPENDITURES

The main items people spend most of their income on are: food (31 percent), health care (25 percent), and utilities (24 percent). Overall, spending on education is limited, with only 9 percent of households saying they spend any substantial figure on education. Expenditures on house rent and transportation are also moderate. A major proportion of the monthly income (49 percent in total) is spent on healthcare and utilities alone.

The reasons for spending more on health are poor sanitation and hygiene situation in the settlements, as well as inadequate municipality services. Utilities such as electricity, water and gas are generally rather expensive in Jalalabad. Despite millions of dollars invested on infrastructure, the city still does not have adequate government-supplied electricity.

Power is supplied by privately owned electric generators. It is widely known that some of these private suppliers also illegally resell government supplied electricity. The electricity costs around AFA 50 (US\$ 1) per kilowatt. This is about one-third of total daily income for 31 percent of the population, while the standard Afghan Breshna rate per kilowatt for residential electricity is AFA 1.5 to AFA 6 and AFA 10 per kilowatt for commercial usage.

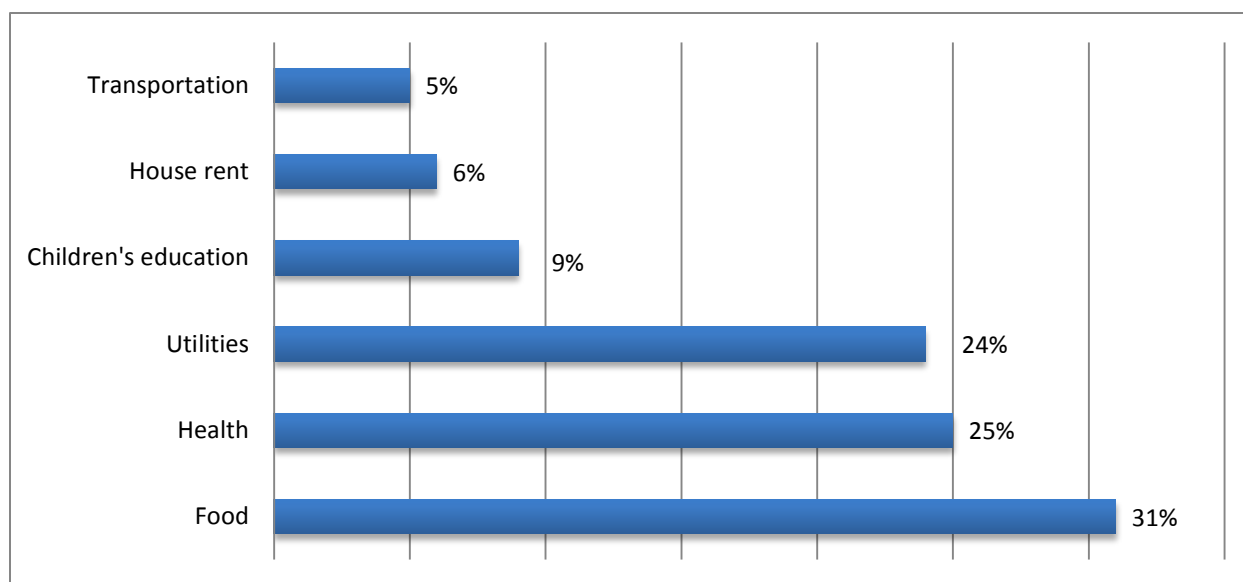


Figure 28: Major expenses of the informal settlers of Jalalabad

Likewise, the reasons for education, house rent and transportation spending not being very high are: a) education is provided free of cost by government schools; b) house rent in informal areas is less than formal areas; and c) the study target of informal settlements are not very far from the center of the city and most public services and facilities are at walking distance.

6.4 SAVINGS

Despite the fact that some of the residents in the informal settlements of Jalalabad have a regular income, it appears that many settlers just manage to make ends meet. The survey data indicates that nearly 79 percent of the settlers do not have enough money to put any savings to the side. About 7 percent of the households, however, saves 5 percent or less of their income, 3 percent of the households saves 6 to 10 percent and another 3 percent saves 11 percent or over of their monthly household income.

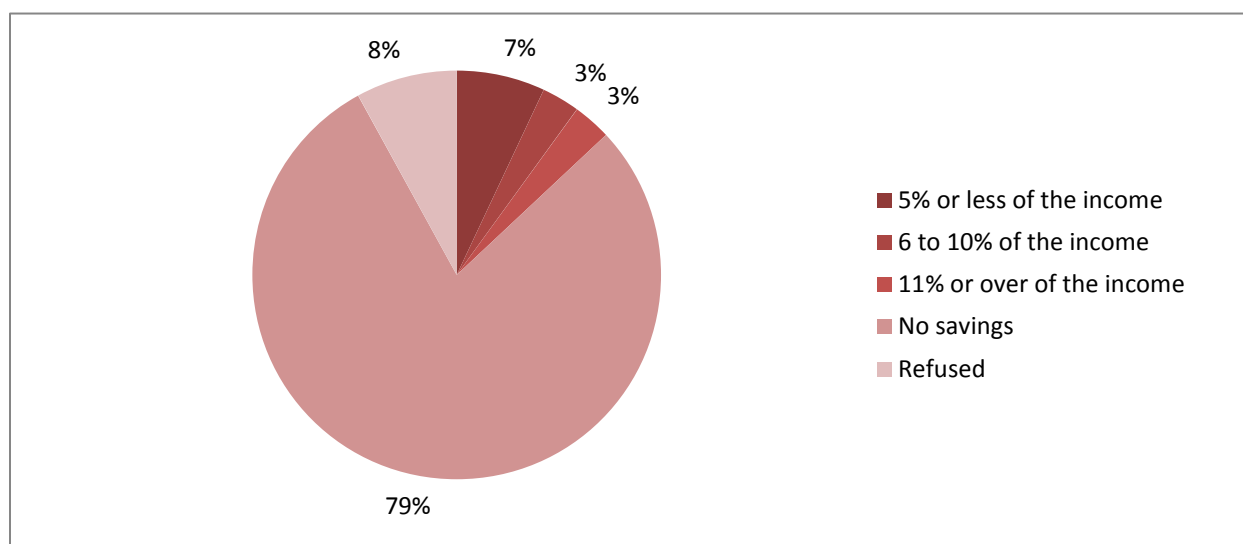


Figure 29: Monthly household savings

6.5 FINANCIAL LIABILITIES

On the more positive side, around two thirds of the residents do not have any financial liabilities, which render them at least independent. About 12 percent have some sort of debt, 2 percent have invested in their house and an additional equal split of 2 percent invested in some business or in commodities.

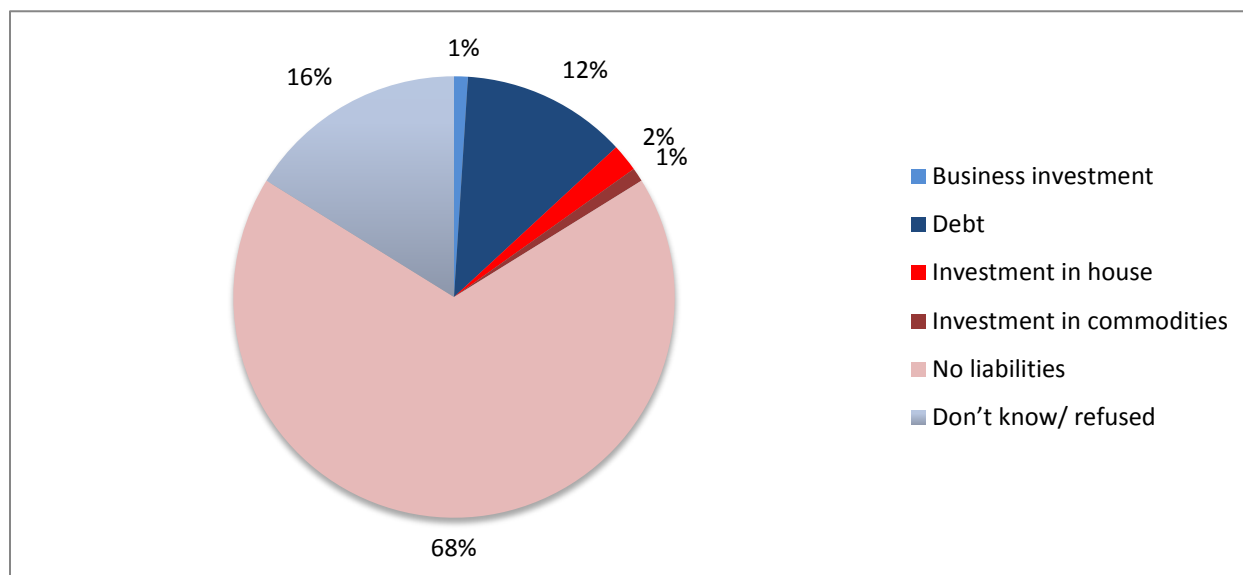


Figure 30: Household's financial liabilities



Figure 31: The survey team in the field

7 LAND-OWNERSHIP & TENURE ARRANGEMENTS

7.1 OWNERSHIP STATUS

Nearly four out of five houses (74 percent) are owner-occupied. Less than a quarters of the dwellers rent their house. Approximately 2 percent live for free and a small number (1 percent) pay a lease or deposit. It is estimated that 19 percent of the owners share the ownership of the plot they live in with someone else. Approximately one-third of the interviewees own land elsewhere, which they predominantly use for agricultural purposes. Tenants pay approximately AFA 5,000 (US\$ 100) for rent.

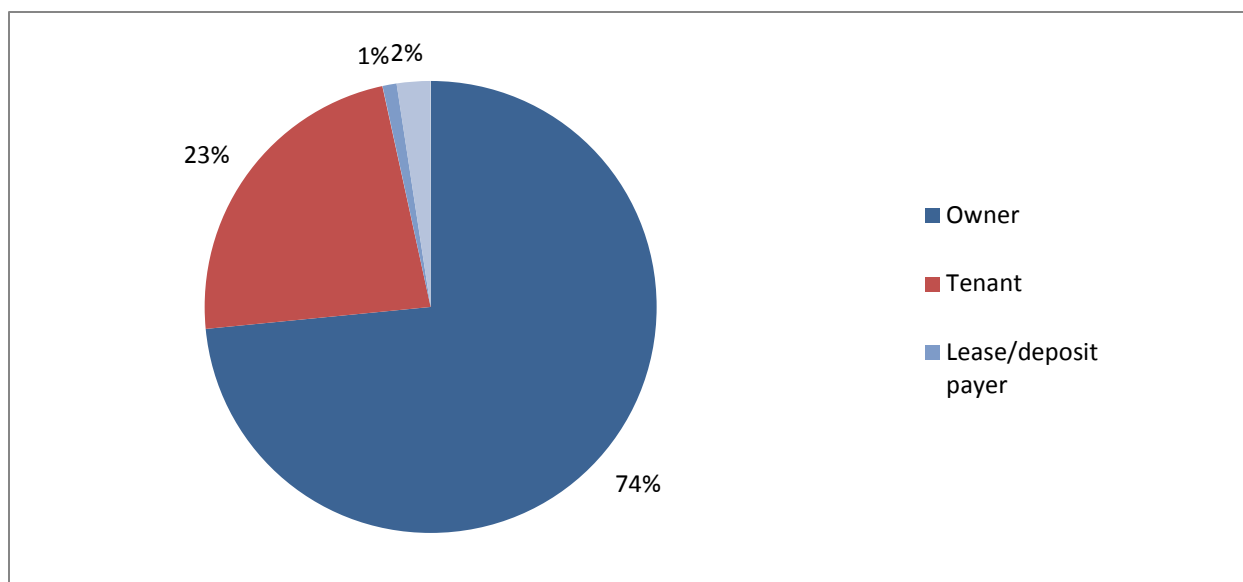


Figure 32: Ownership Status

7.2 OWNERSHIP DOCUMENTS

The majority of informal settlers (78 percent), claim that they own the house they live in, and that they have some kind of ownership document. The most common form of landownership document is the Urfi Qabala, acquired by 44 percent, followed by Sharayee Qabala acquired by 25 percent of the owners. Other documents are the Tarrif/Banki Awiz and Eslahat-e Arazi Kitabcha, respectively possessed by 6

and 3 percent of the owners. A considerable proportion, 19 percent, of the house owners still have no ownership documents.

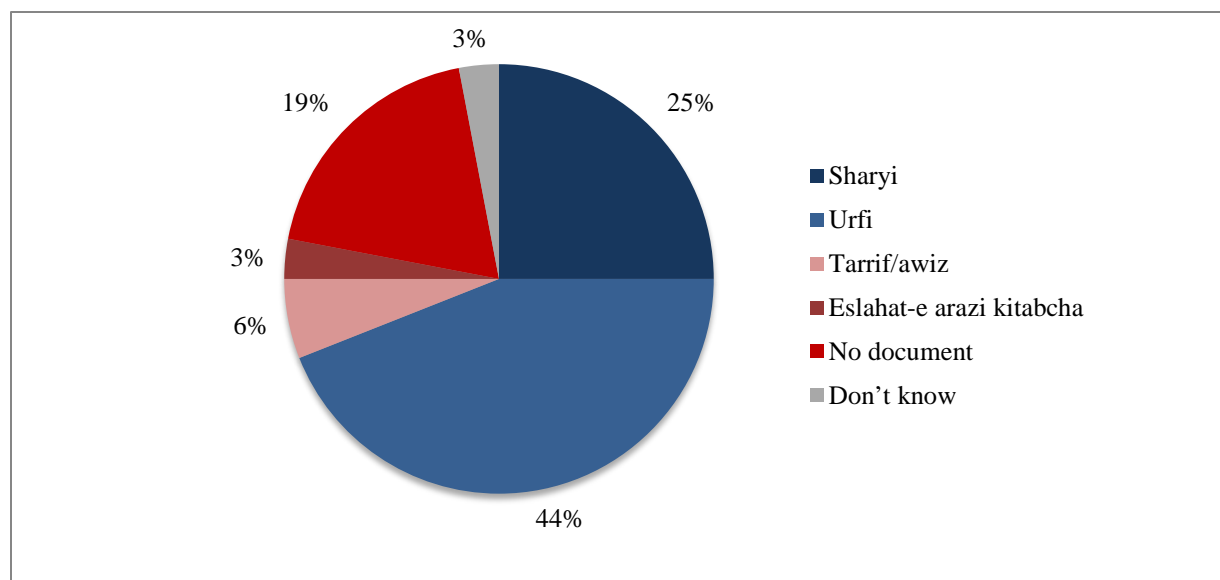


Figure 33: Ownership Documents

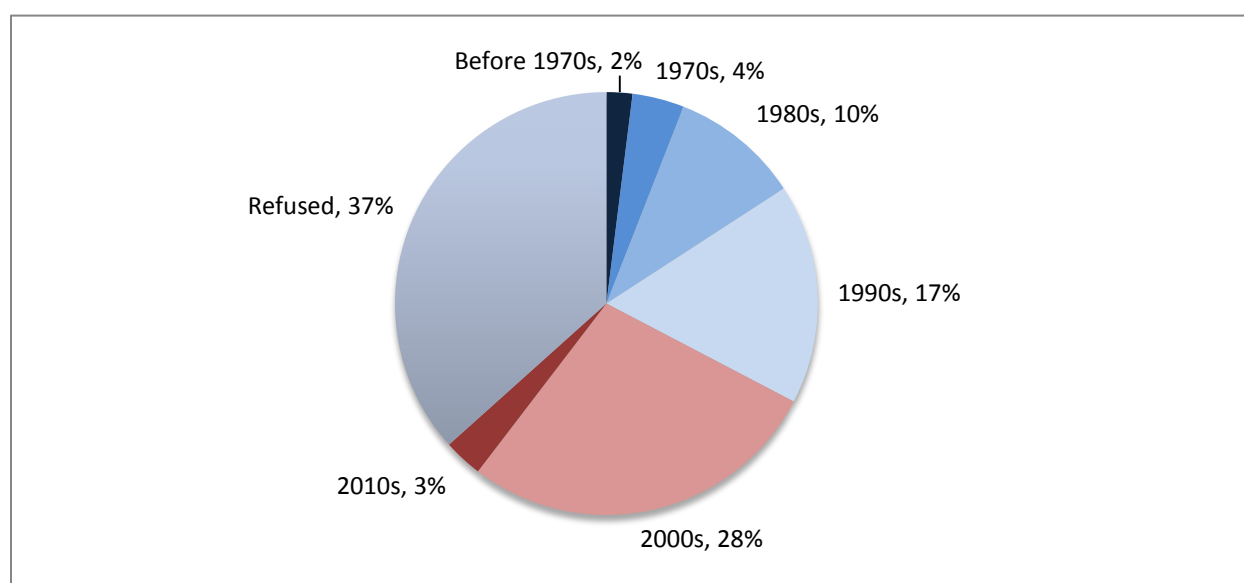


Figure 34: Timeframe the document was acquired

Most often settlers have acquired their ownership documents immediately after building or buying the house. About 2 percent of these lownership documents were aquired before the 1970s, 4 percent in the 1970s, 10 percent in the 1980s, 17 percent in the 1990s, 28 percent from 2000 to 2009, and only 3 percent in 2010 and 2011. This indicates that a major proportion, 45 percent, of ownership documents were

acquired in the last two decades (1990s and 2000s). However, in both these decades Afghanistan was going through political instability, conflict and civil war. This was an era commonly known for its poor governance, corruption, weak judiciary, injustice, and inadequate land regulation and administration, thus increasing the chances of forged documentation, land grab and corruption in land distribution.

7.3 TENURE ARRANGEMENT & SECURITY

Despite the fact that the settlers live in an informal area, they appear rather satisfied with their present land tenure arrangement and security. In fact, while 73 percent of the owners said that they are very satisfied with their land tenure security, respectively only 23 percent and 1 percent of people said that they are either less satisfied or not satisfied at all.

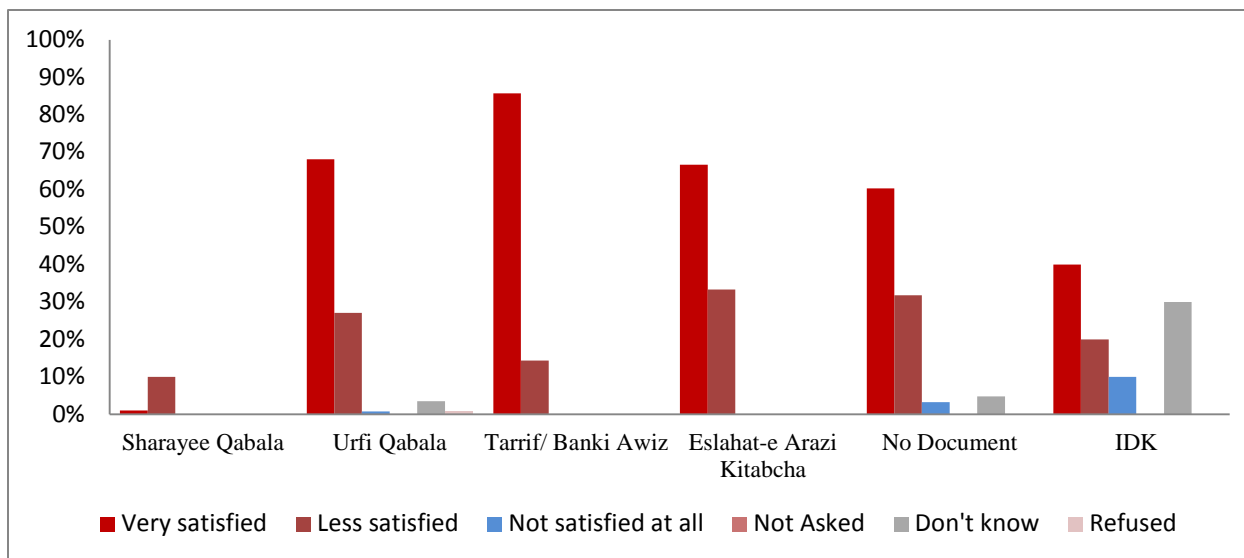


Figure 35: Tenure arrangement/ security satisfaction level by type of ownership document

This can also be explained by the fact that eviction is seen only as a remote possibility since the local authorities are unable to either enforce planning regulations or apply development control in areas unfit for houses or owned by the government.

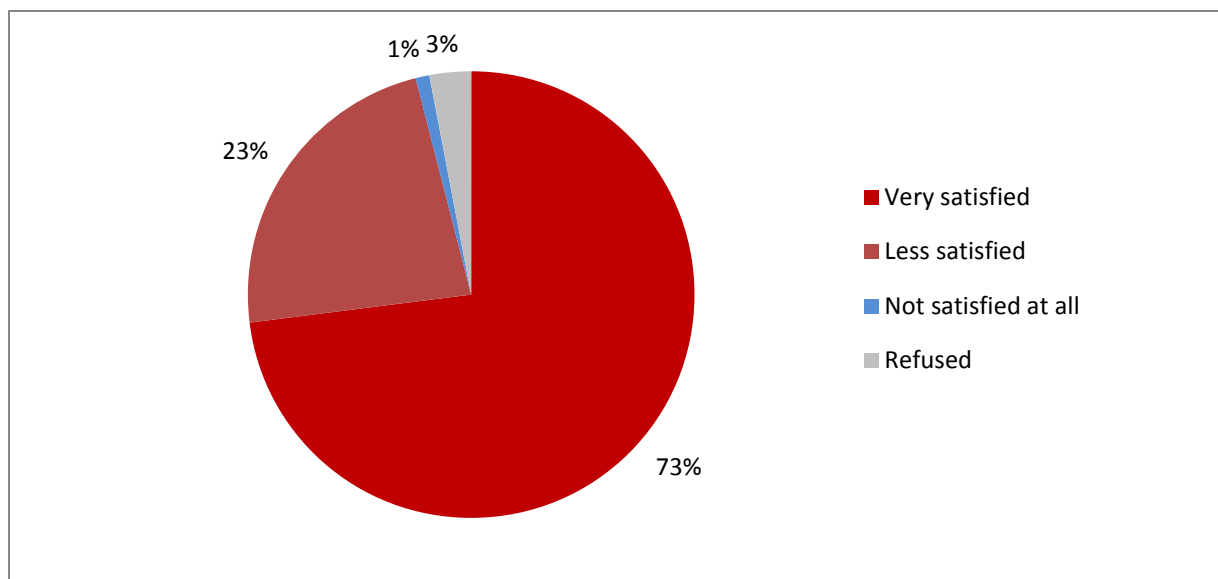


Figure 36: Level of satisfaction with tenure arrangements



Figure 35: Research team in the field with a member of staff of the LARA project M&E team

The cross-checking of tenure arrangements/security level with the type of ownership document has shown that residents who have Tariff/Banki Awiz are the most satisfied with their tenure arrangements and security; the other most satisfied residents are the ones holding respectively Urfi Qabala, and Eslahat-e Arazi Kitabcha. Holders of Sharyi Qabala have the lowest level of confidence on their tenure arrangement/ security.

Those living in settlements where land is government-owned have a higher level of confidence on their tenure arrangements/ security—about 83 percent of these settlers said they are very satisfied. However, these estimates are lower in the settlements with privately-owned land—only 75 percent of these dwellers

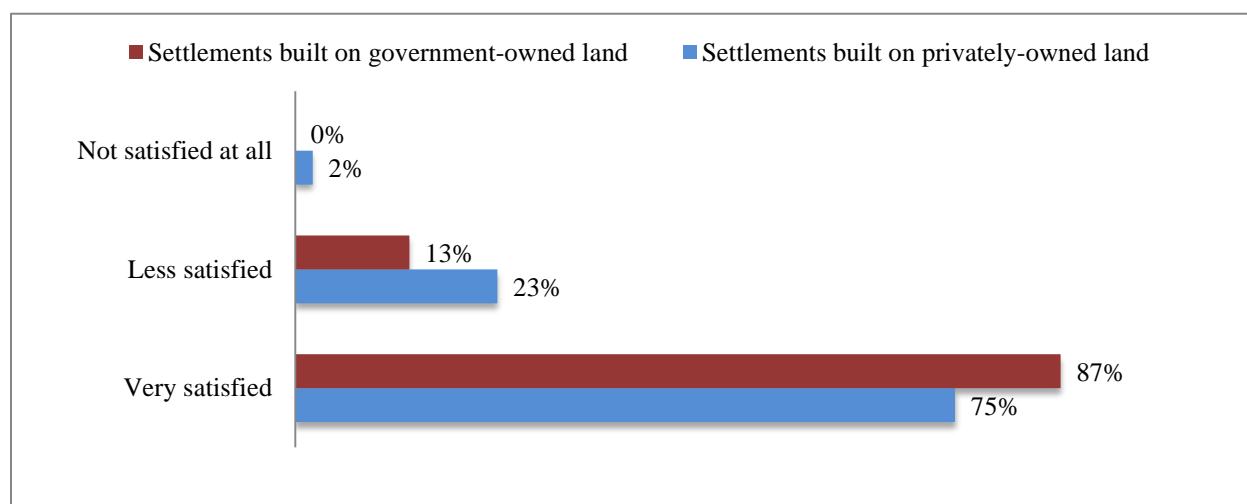


Figure 37: Level of satisfaction with tenure arrangements according to land ownership

said they are very satisfied, 23 percent of them said they are less satisfied and a small percentage, 2 percent, said they are not satisfied at all, while the latter two estimates in the government-owned settlements are 13 and 0 percent, respectively.

7.4 FEAR OF EVICTION

Despite the fact that they are living in an informal area, nearly four out of five people are not concerned that they might lose their property. Less than one out of ten respondents expressed concern that he or she might be evicted. The high level of confidence on tenure arrangements/ security might stem from the fact that the informal settlements have been around for so long that only very few people fear that they might be dismantled.

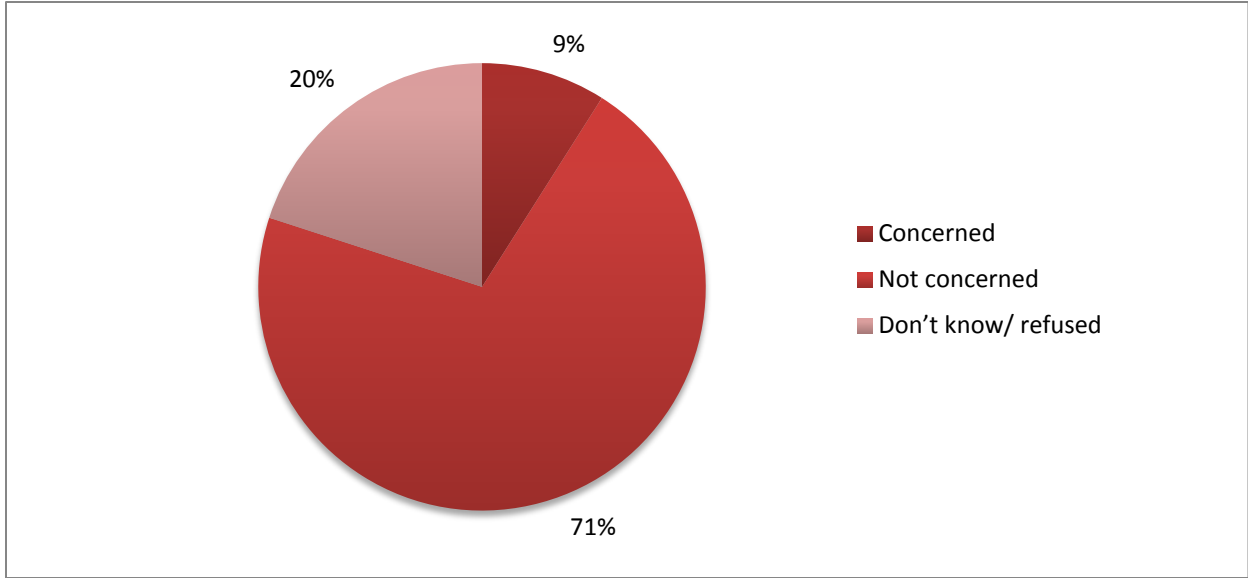


Figure 39: Concern of losing one's property



Figure 38: Informal settlement in the peri-urban area of Jalalabad

From amongst the 9 percent concerned about losing their property, about 45 percent have shown a very high level of fear, 44 percent have shown a high level of concern and only 11 percent have shown a low level of concern.

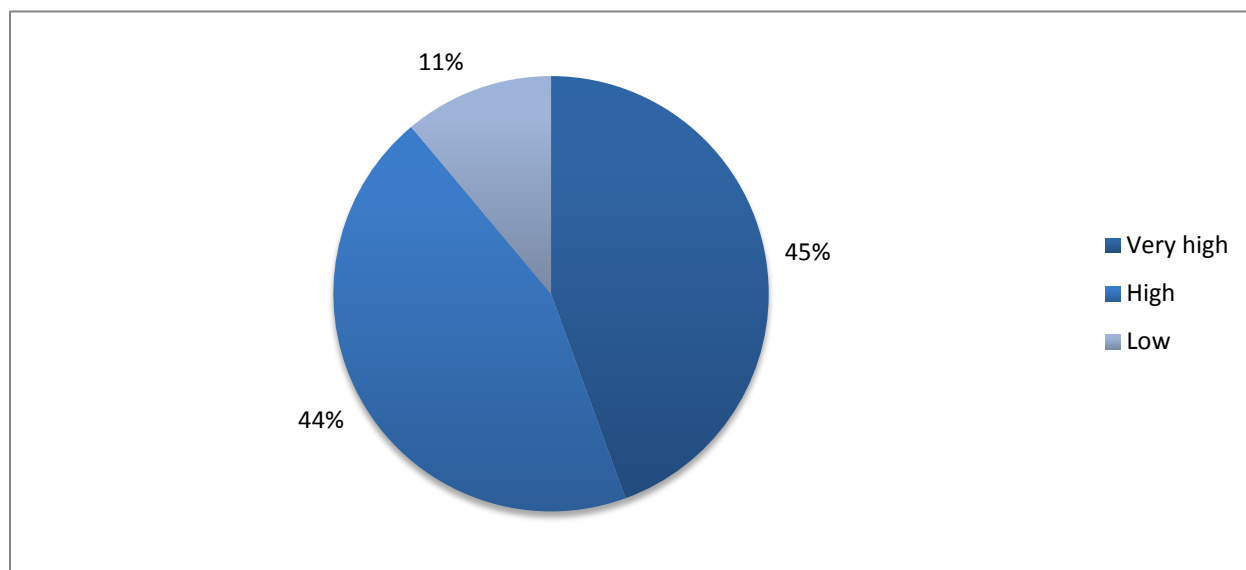


Figure 40: Level of concern- chances of losing one's property



Figure 41: Children walking the streets of an informal settlement

In the case of any potential threat to their tenure security, 32 percent of the concerned informal dwellers said that they feel the government would support them (e.g. using their landownership documents in the courts) to secure their properties. Approximately 5 percent said the local residents, elders or *gozar wakil* would serve as a source of support for them, and 2 percent said a local commander or member of provincial council would assist them. About 10 percent said they would have no source of support.

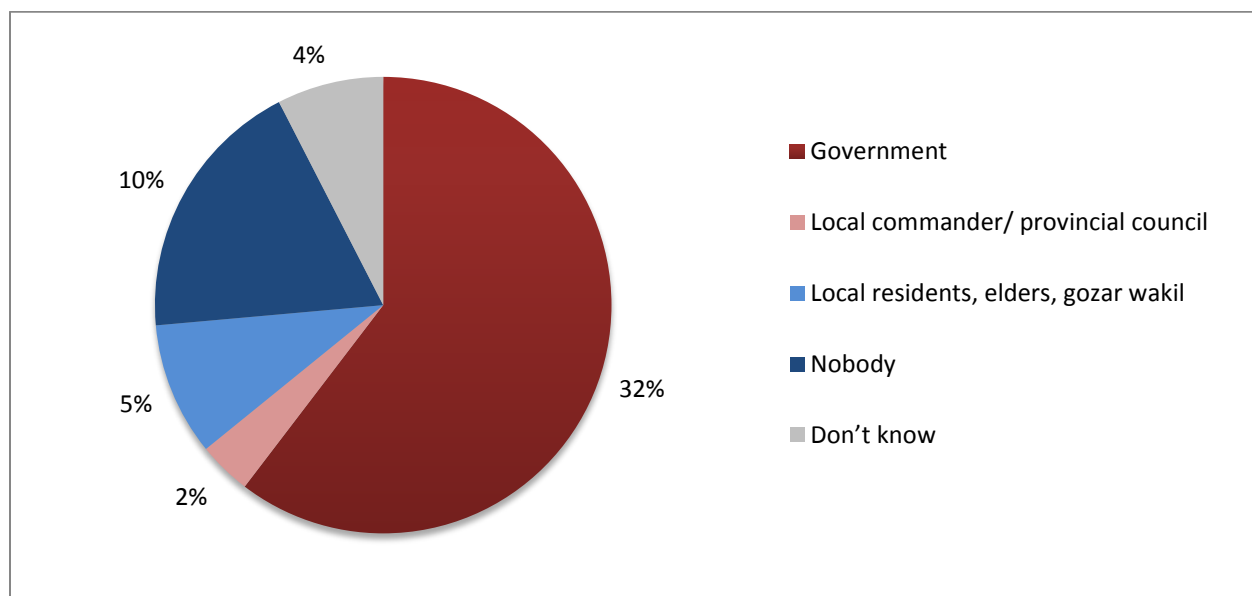


Figure 42: Source of support in case of property threat

Data on tenure confidence implies that the households living in the settlements located outside the municipality boundaries are more fearful, with an average concern of 9.4 percent in areas outside, vs. average concern of 8.8 percent in areas inside the municipality boundaries. Households living in the informal settlements located inside municipality boundaries, on the other hand, are more confident in their tenure arrangements and security.

The survey analysts have cross-verified this with results from the variable of main household concerns and have found almost similar results. A principle reason for people living in settlements inside the boundaries is identified as the settlements being relatively old and their major tenure issues have been addressed to great extent over the years. Inversely, those outside the municipality boundaries, especially the newly established settlements such as Shaikh Mesry, Ganda Chashma and Farm-e Hada camps, are new and have no proper documentation for the land they have been settled on.

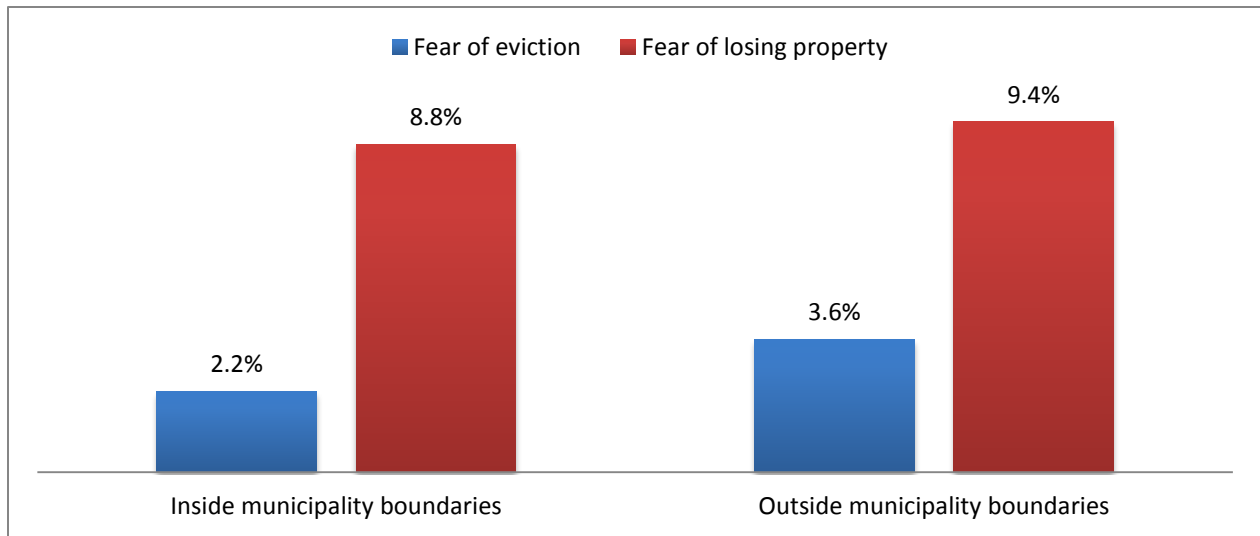


Figure 43: Average percent, tenure arrangements and security concerns of settlements inside municipality boundaries and outside municipality boundaries.

Informal settlers living in settlements built on government-owned land, on the other hand, are more concerned about their tenure arrangements/security compared to the settlers living in those built on privately owned land. The reason for this high level of confidence can be that they were not issued with some sort of ownership transfer document by the government agencies or the land grabbers redistributing the land. People realize the government could ask them some day to evacuate the land.

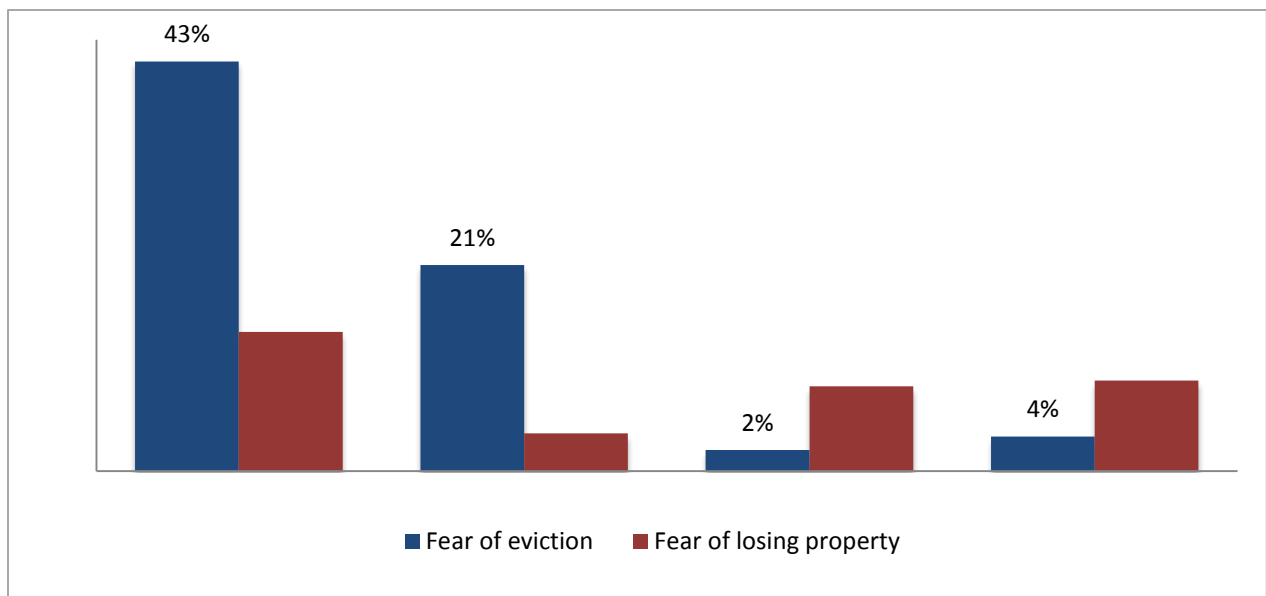


Figure 44: Average percent of fear of eviction / losing property

7.5 LAND-BASED DISPUTES

Only a small minority of settlers has ever had any land or property dispute. In fact, only 6 percent of those queried claim that they have ever had any dispute. Most of these disputes occurred with the government.

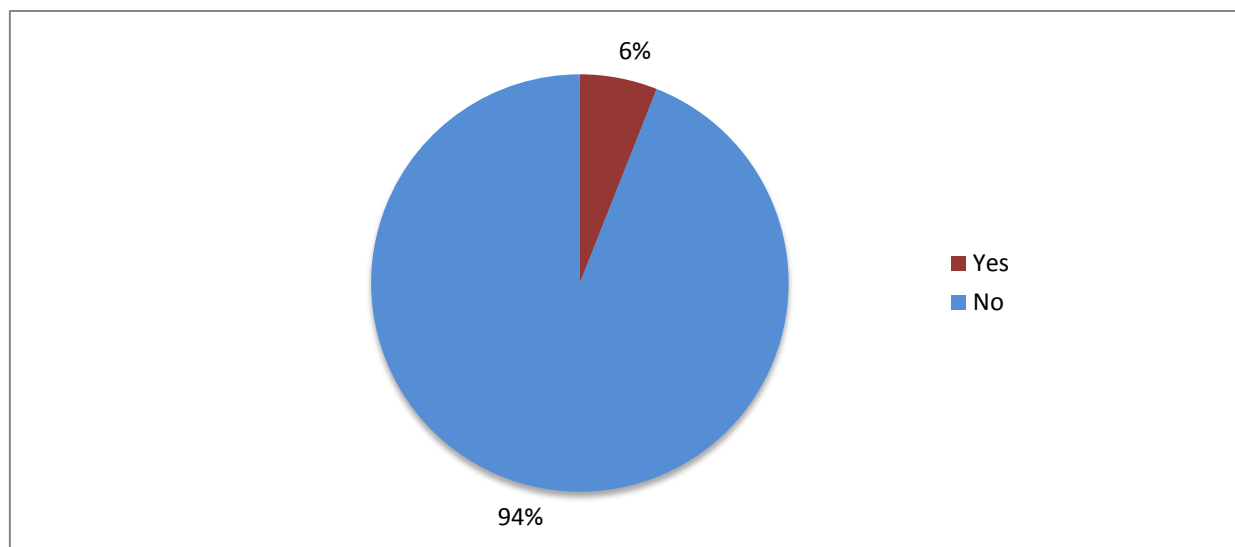


Figure 45: Occurrences of land-based disputes



Figure 46: PHO's field crew member conducting interview with a farmer in one of the target areas

In addition, most disputes took place in the settlements located outside the municipality boundaries (also referred to as “peri-urban”) and in settlements built on privately owned lands. A major reason for the increased occurrences of disputes in the settlements outside municipality boundaries is that all these settlements are newly established or some large movement to these areas has recently taken place.

The reason why disputes occur more on privately owned land could be the higher chances of land grab and illegal occupation in such settlements compared to the settlements built on government-owned lands. Normally, people that claim that they own the land, carry out distribution of privately owned land in exchange for money and ownership transfer documents. This document is normally an Urfi Qabala, which has some weight in the court, particularly in cases where the actual landowner issues it. The distributors often are land grabbers who may have happened to have sold the same piece of land to more than one person and issued him or her an Urfi Qabala, thus increasing the chances of dispute.

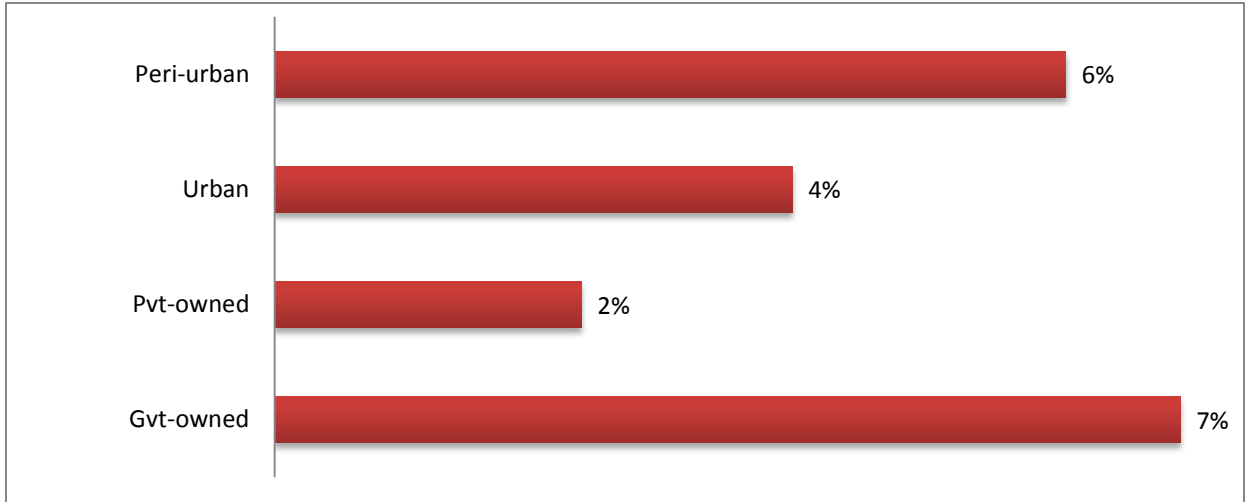


Figure 47: Average land-based dispute occurrence- percent

A considerable proportion, 58 percent, of the population who had a dispute said their dispute was with the government. About 19 percent had a dispute with their neighbors, 10 percent with relatives (including siblings who share inheritance) and 13 percent with an influential person.

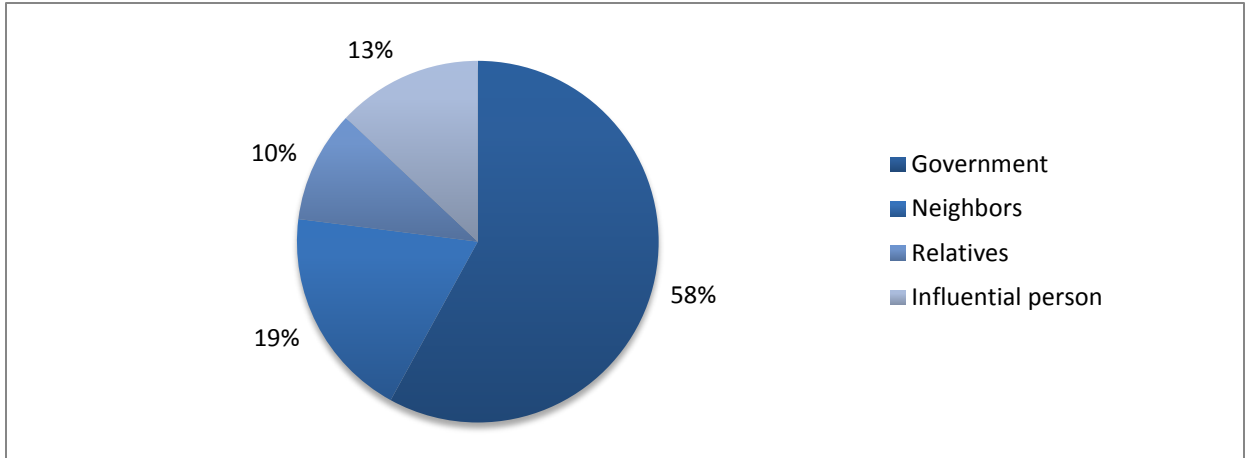


Figure 48: Whom did you have a dispute with?

The survey data on the land-based disputes indicate that around 16 percent of the settlers who have had a dispute said they have not tried to resolve the dispute and 84 percent said they tried to resolve the dispute. Approximately 56 percent of the people who had a dispute said they used a formal mechanism (such as referring to government authorities, police/court), and 28 percent have used an informal mechanism (such as *Jirga*, *shura* and or elders).

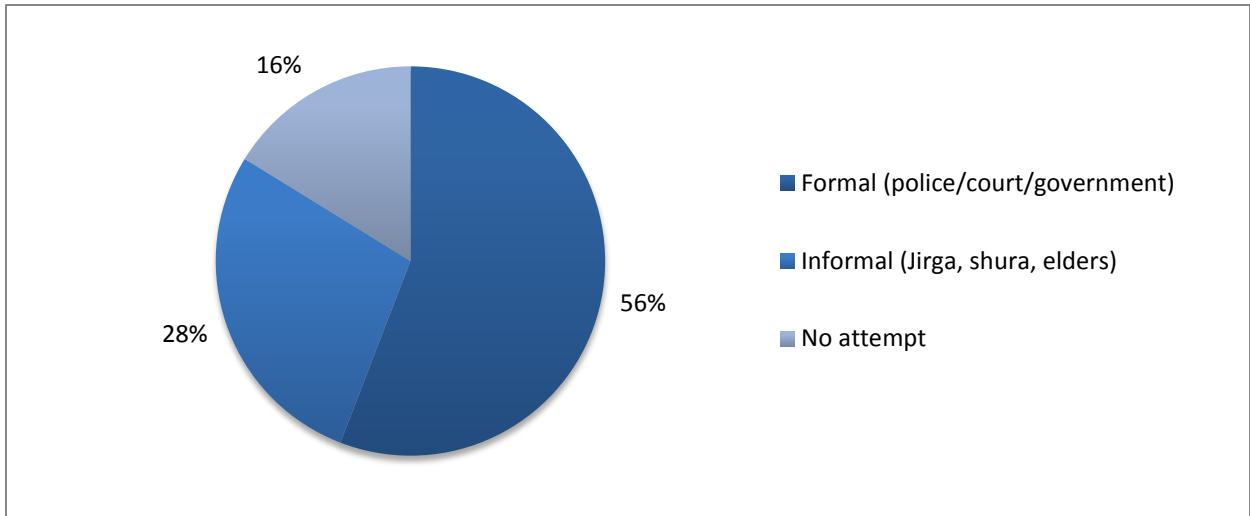


Figure 49: Attempt to resolve dispute & mechanism used

Approximately 60 percent of settlers who tried to resolve their dispute are not satisfied with their dispute resolution mechanism. Only 40 percent said they are satisfied with their dispute resolution mechanism.

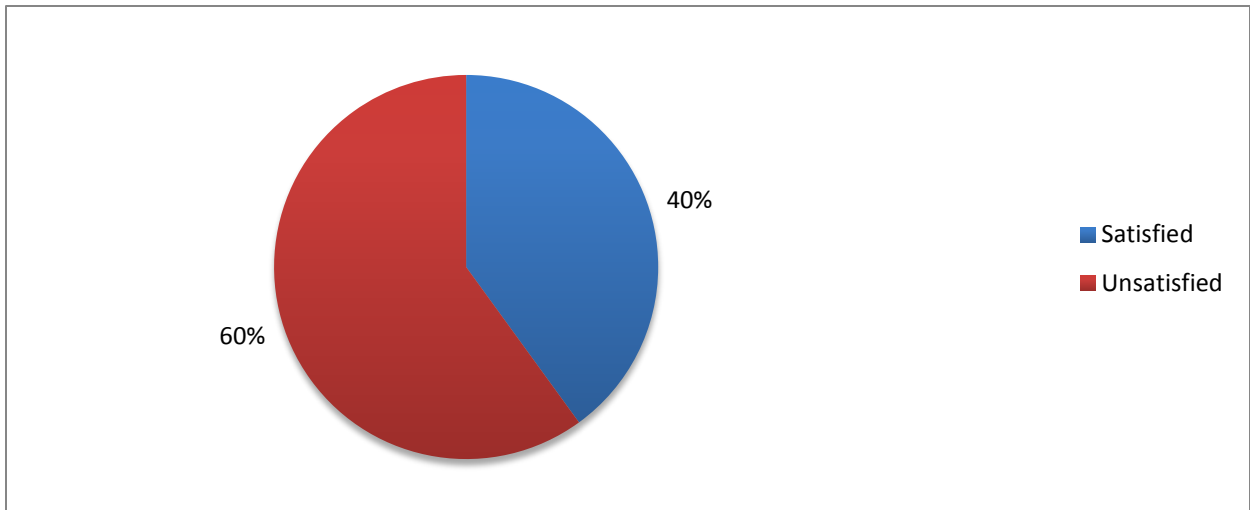


Figure 50: Level of satisfaction with dispute resolution mechanism used

Major reasons for the lack of satisfaction with dispute resolution mechanisms are bribery and corruption, and lack of people's confidence in the effectiveness of the mechanism. About 19 percent said they are not satisfied because it is not effective, another 19 percent think it is a long and complicated process and 6 percent think that nepotism took place or the officials supported their opponent. A large proportion, 56 percent, said bribery and corruption are the main reasons why they are not satisfied.

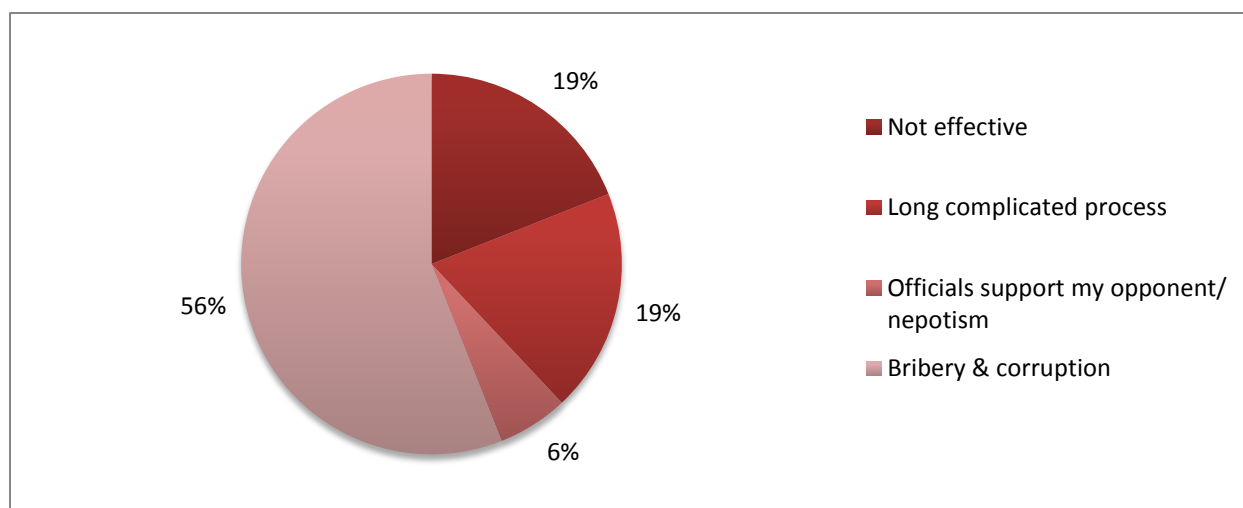


Figure 52: Reasons for not being satisfied with the dispute resolution mechanism



Figure 51: Surveyors conducting their field work

8 HOUSING & LAND MARKET

This section summarizes the overall housing situation and land market, as well as illustrating the quality of the houses and the presence of basic housing infrastructure in the informal settlements.

8.1 PLOT SIZES

There is considerable disparity in the size of the properties in Jalalabad's informal settlements. The average plot is between two and five *biswas*. The disparity in sizes implies that there are both one family compounds/houses as well as units with several households.

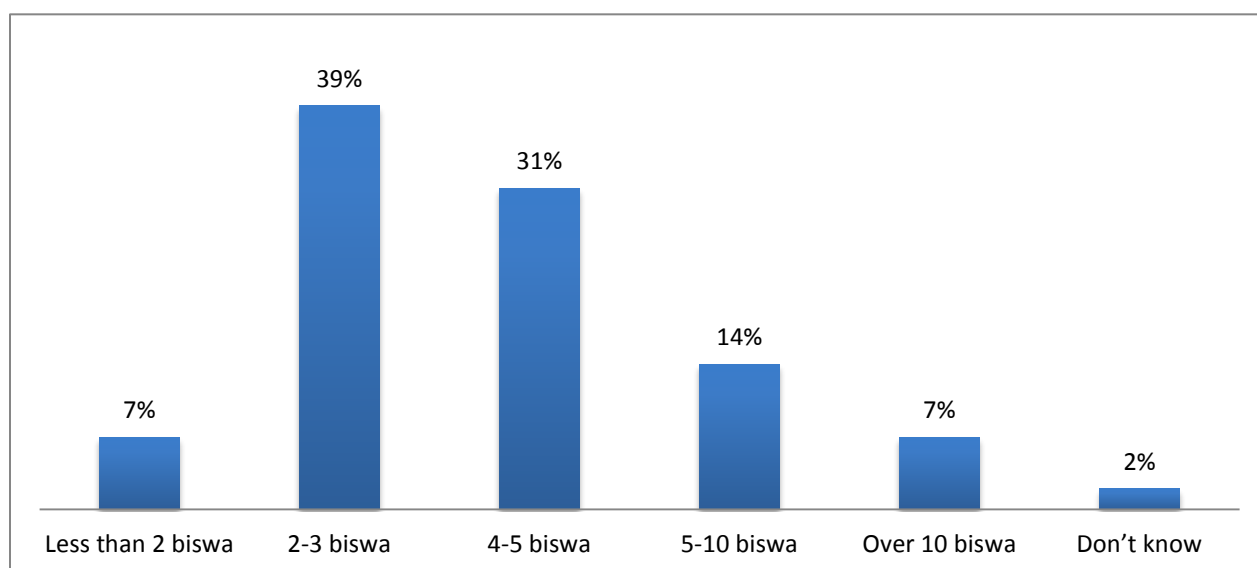


Figure 53: Size of the plot in biswa

8.2 PLOT SHARING

In approximately half of the plots, only one family unit/household is residing. In the other half of the plots, multiple family units/households are living together. The reason for higher single household living arrangements is mainly the desire for privacy. Most of the dwellers are conservative rural citizens who prefer living privately rather than sharing their compounds with other families. Other causes might be that the plot sizes in these areas are not large enough to contain more than one household. The majority

of the plots are three to five *biswa* and single floor buildings that can hardly accommodate more than one household, especially of a large size family. Multi-story houses require more investment.

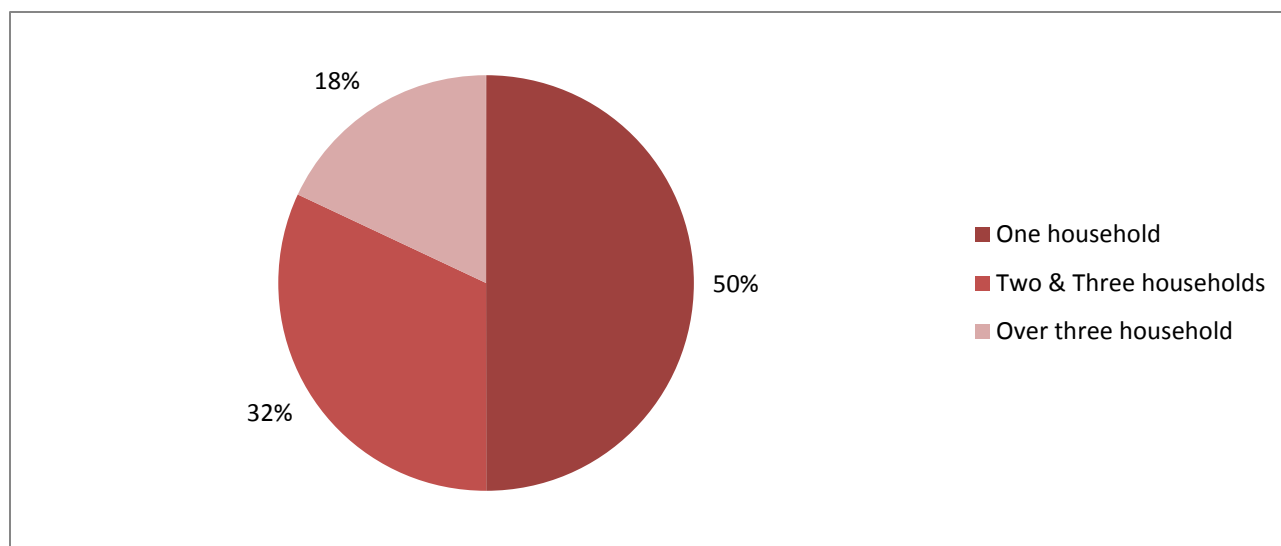


Figure 54: House sharing- households per compound/ plot

The main reason for families to share their compounds with someone else is economic hardship. Sharing resources and rentals reduces family spending. Owners may share properties because they cannot afford to buy a new property. Some house owners, especially those with a small-sized family or low income, might also rent out part of their compound, to produce an extra source of income for the household. Personal or tenure security can be another reason for some residents who share houses. More people in the compound can give an increased feeling of security.

House sharing broken down by ethnicity illustrates that Pashayees are most likely to share plots, and Tajiks the second most likely. However, house sharing among Pashtoons is less common, and estimated zero among Arabs, indicating that culture might also influence the house sharing practice in the informal settlements of Jalalabad.

8.3 LAND MARKET

The respondents indicate that the average price of land is AFA 331,125 per *biswa*. Similar to housing prices, there is considerable disparity in the price of land ranging from AFA 10,000 to AFA 1400,000 per *biswa*. Overall, the price of the land is approximately one third of the price of building a house. The most expensive land, among the informal settlements, is reported to be in Campoona, Araban, Toap Gundai, Samsor Maina, Meskeen Abad, Arbaban, Qasaba, Angoor Bagh, and Shahidano Tapa. The study results show that the highest priced lands are located inside the municipality boundaries, mainly because they are closer to the city and public facilities and have more immediate access to service such as healthcare and education.

8.4 REAL ESTATE PRACTICES

The majority of the property transactions, sales/rentals, are handled directly between the two parties, e.g. the buyer and the seller. About 66 percent of the people said they have acquired the property through direct contact with the owner, while 10 percent have inherited the property. Land occupation without any form of transaction and government distribution comprise respectively 9 and 6 percent. Only a small number, 7 percent, have acquired the land through a property dealer or intermediary.

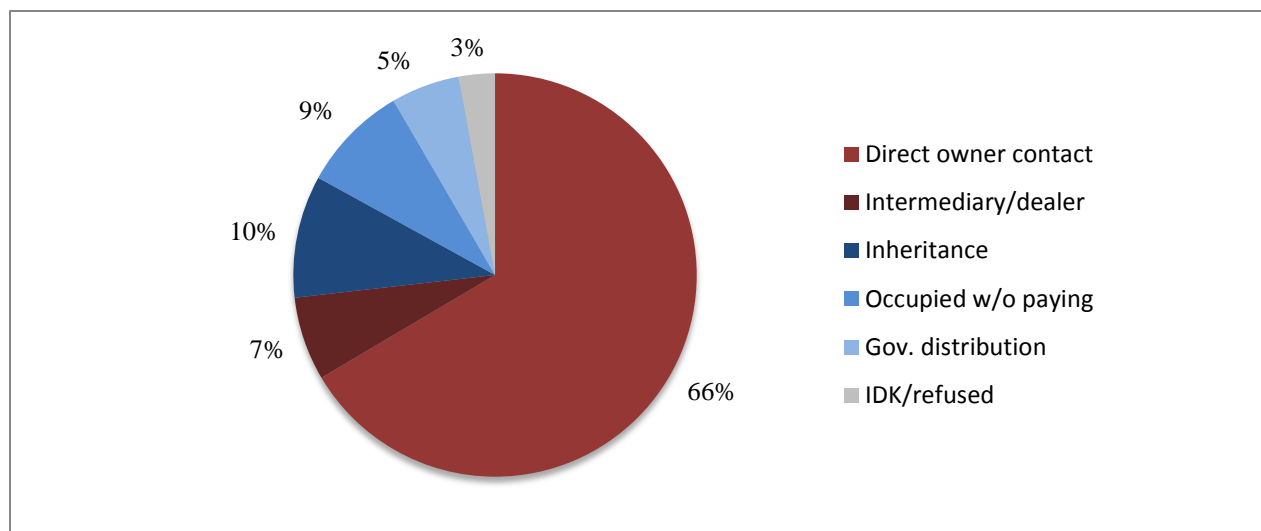


Figure 55: Ways in which households acquire a plot in the settlement

8.5 CONSTRUCTION WORKS

The study results indicate that 65 percent of landowners themselves built the homes they reside in. Approximately 26 percent have said the house was already built by someone before they moved in and 8 percent have said they did not know who the builder was. These figures include property owners as well as tenants. Only 1 percent of home owners have hired a private construction company to build their house.

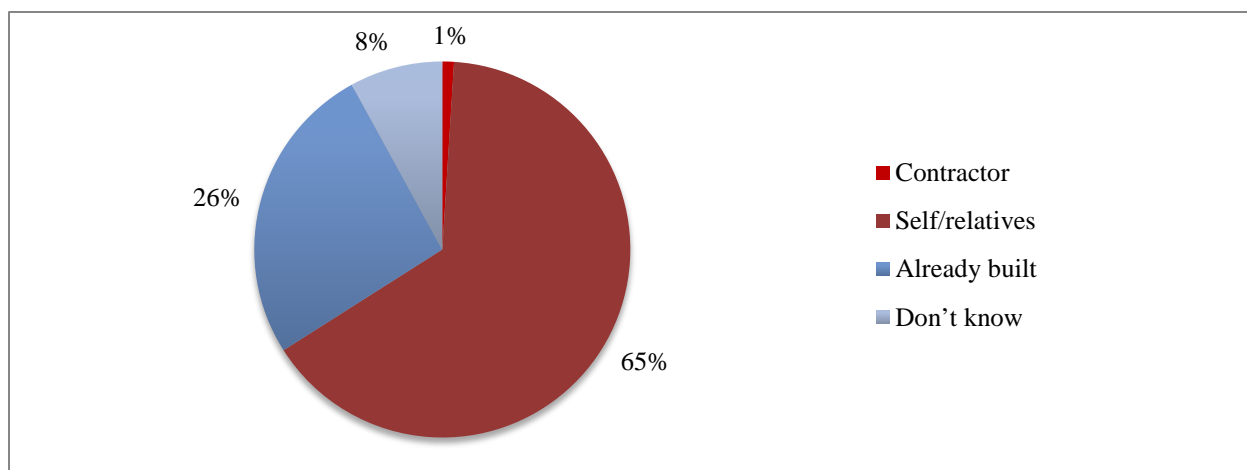


Figure 56: House builder

8.6 CONSTRUCTION TRENDS

The houses are generally old. Survey data indicates that around one third of the houses have been built more than 20 years ago. The history of house construction in the informal settlements of Jalalabad goes back to the 1940s. Most of the construction work, however, has been carried out since 2000, when 37 percent of the houses were built. About 22 percent of the houses were constructed in 1990s, 11 percent in 1980s, 8 percent in 1970s and around 3 percent before 1970s. The remaining 3 percent of the houses were constructed since in the 2010 and 2011. Major house construction took place in 1997, 2001, 2006, and 2008 respectively 5, 6, 5, and 4 percent of all construction in the informal settlements of Jalalabad took place in these years.

Overall, housing construction in the informal settlements of Jalalabad is rapidly rising; it must be noted, however, that almost all the construction work is being carried out without taking into any consideration municipality or urban development plans. The majority also varies greatly in size and in the quality of construction materials used. One of the principle reasons for this fast growth of housing in the informal settlements is rapid urbanization and the inability of the government to address the growing housing needs of its citizens. The new settlers handle almost all activities and transactions in the informal areas independent of any government authority. The government seems to have almost no role in land-ownership transfer, tenure arrangements, infrastructure development, housing or construction planning.

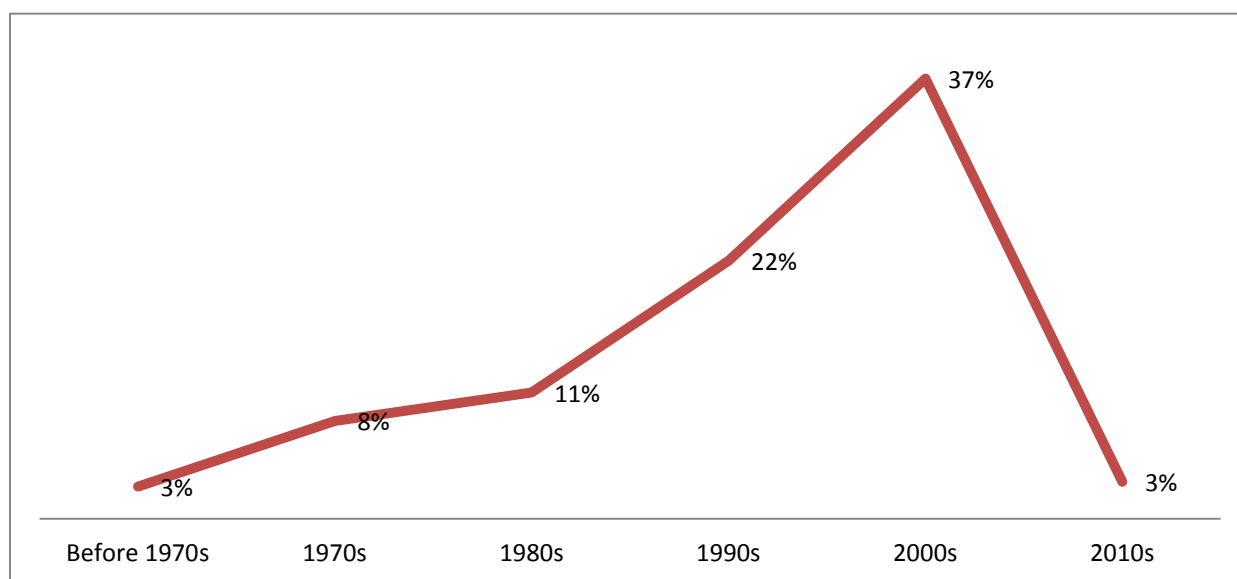


Figure 57: Construction trends in the informal settlements of Jalalabad

8.7 CONSTRUCTION METHODS

Most of the houses (53 percent) are constructed incrementally by adding rooms over the years while only 27 percent of the houses are built all at once or simultaneously. Settlements where most of the house construction took place simultaneously are Base-e Ekmalati (67 percent), Angoor Bagh II (63 percent), Meskeen Abad (63 percent), and Angoor Bagh I (50 percent). Settlements with most incremental

construction practices are Kambo Khoar, Samsor Maina, Sangi Masjid, and Arbaban where respectively, 75, 67, 63, and 50 percent of the houses were constructed gradually by adding rooms over the years.

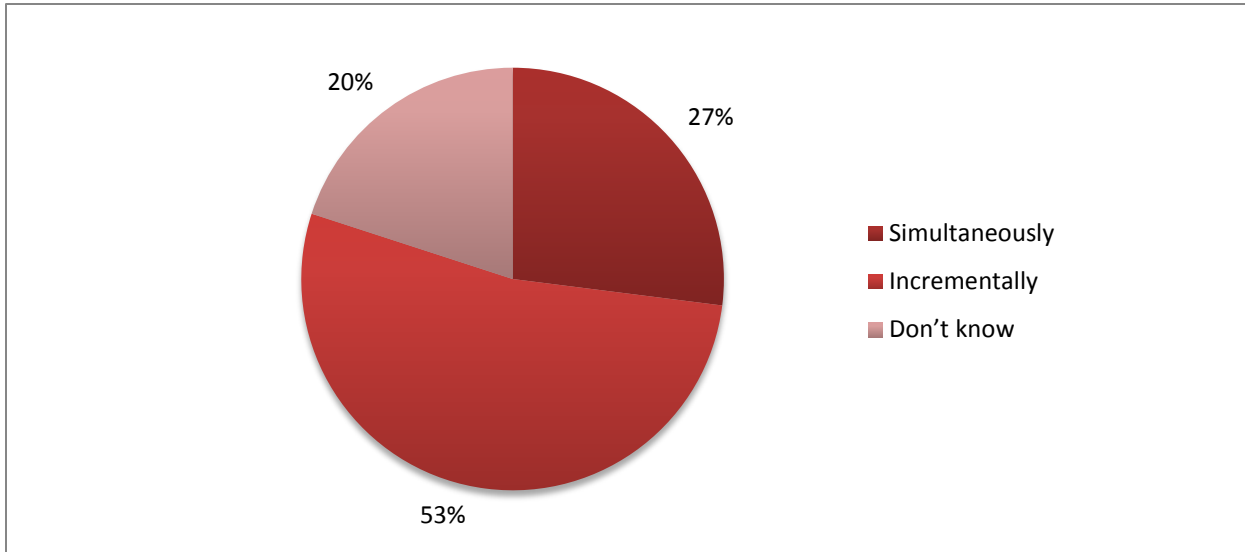


Figure 58: Construction methods

A considerable proportion of houses in informal areas have been built with low cost material. The shells of the buildings are mainly built with bricks, mud and wood. Higher quality materials such as concrete or metal are basically absent from the houses in the informal settlements in Jalalabad. The results of the data indicate that the majority (72 percent) of houses is made of sun-dried mud bricks and only 28 percent used baked bricks and concrete. Details of the construction material used show that 58 percent of the houses used baked bricks, 58 percent sun dried bricks and mud, 11 percent of the houses used mud, 30 percent used baked bricks, and around 1 percent used concrete.

Settlements with better housing conditions are Afghan Maina, Arbaban, Base-e Ekmalati and Samsor Maina. However, Shaikh Mesri, Qasim Abad II, Farme Hada, and Ganda Chashma are respectively among the settlements that used the lowest quality construction material. There is no major difference between the construction quality of owner-occupied houses and tenant-occupied houses.

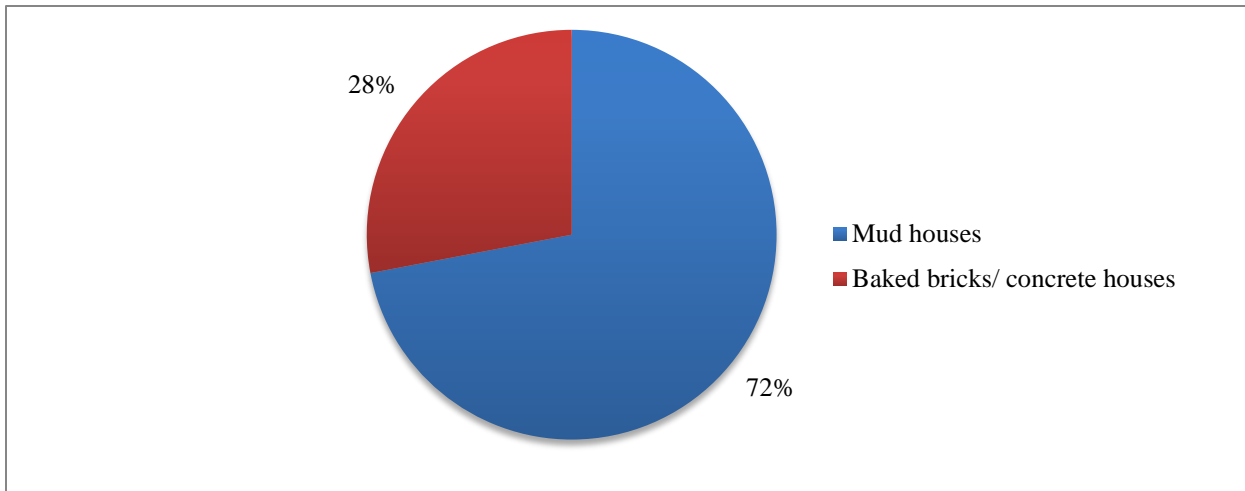


Figure 59: Building material

Constructing one-story houses is the most common house construction practices in the informal settlements of Jalalabad. Whether they house one or several families more than 93 percent of the houses only have one floor and a small number, 7 percent, have two floors.

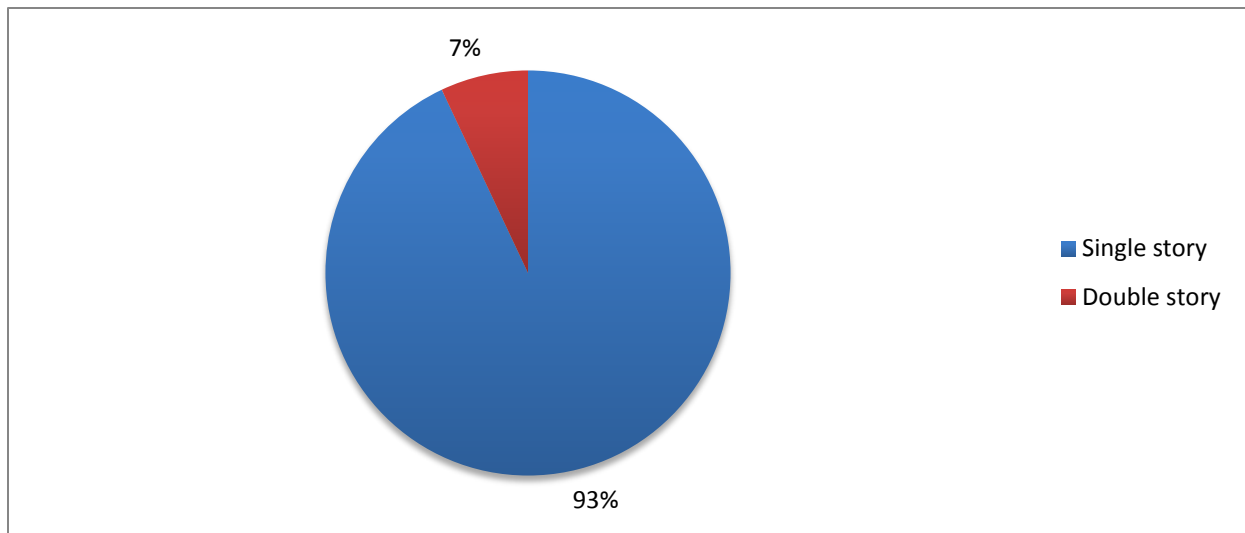


Figure 60: Number of floors



Figure 61: A multi-storey building constructed with high quality construction material in one of the target survey areas

Concerning the number of rooms around 60 percent of the houses have three to five rooms. The remaining 40 percent are relatively evenly split in houses with only one room and houses with six rooms or more.

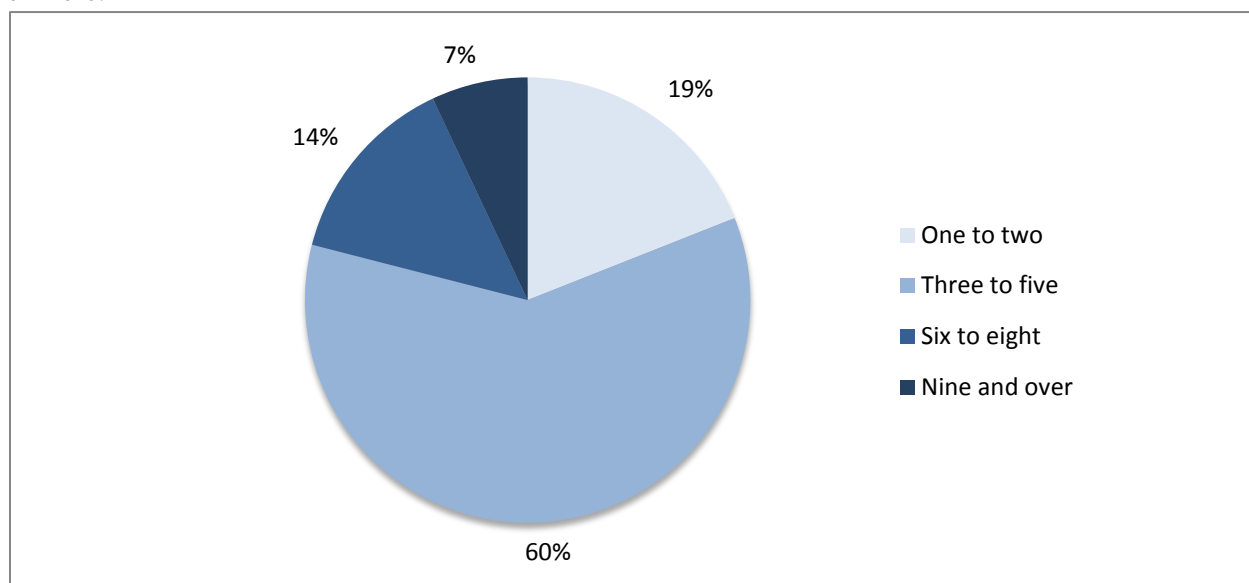


Figure 62: Number of habitable rooms



Figure 63: A poorly constructed dwellings in another target survey area

8.8 DOMESTIC FACILITIES

A major proportion of the houses of Jalalabad's informal settlements do not have even the most basic domestic facilities to meet household needs. For instance, about 48 percent of the houses do not have a

kitchen. On the other hand, about 28 percent of households have an outdoor kitchen where, especially in the winter, maintaining decent hygiene is challenging. While most of the houses have toilets, these are mainly located outdoors, which might also pose some sanitary risks, especially for children, the elderly, the sick or disabled, and pregnant women. The same can be said for the bathrooms. If at all, the bathrooms are mainly located outside the building. As such they are prone to sanitary dangers such as infestation of insects, contamination of the soil and water and extreme cold in the winter as well as extreme heat in the summer.

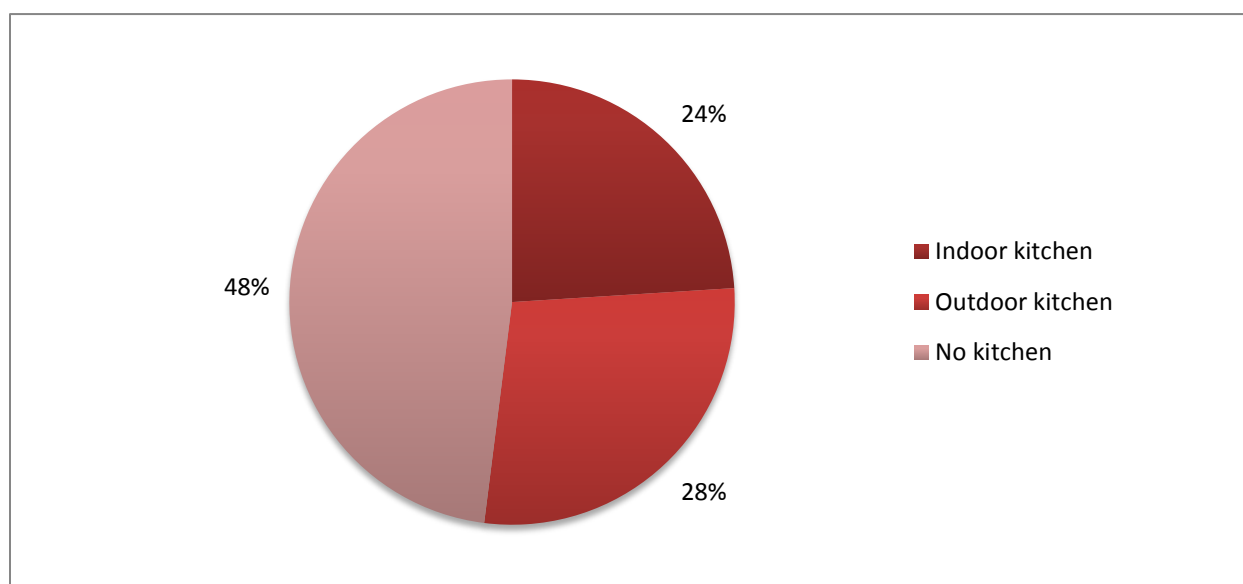


Figure 64: Location of the kitchen

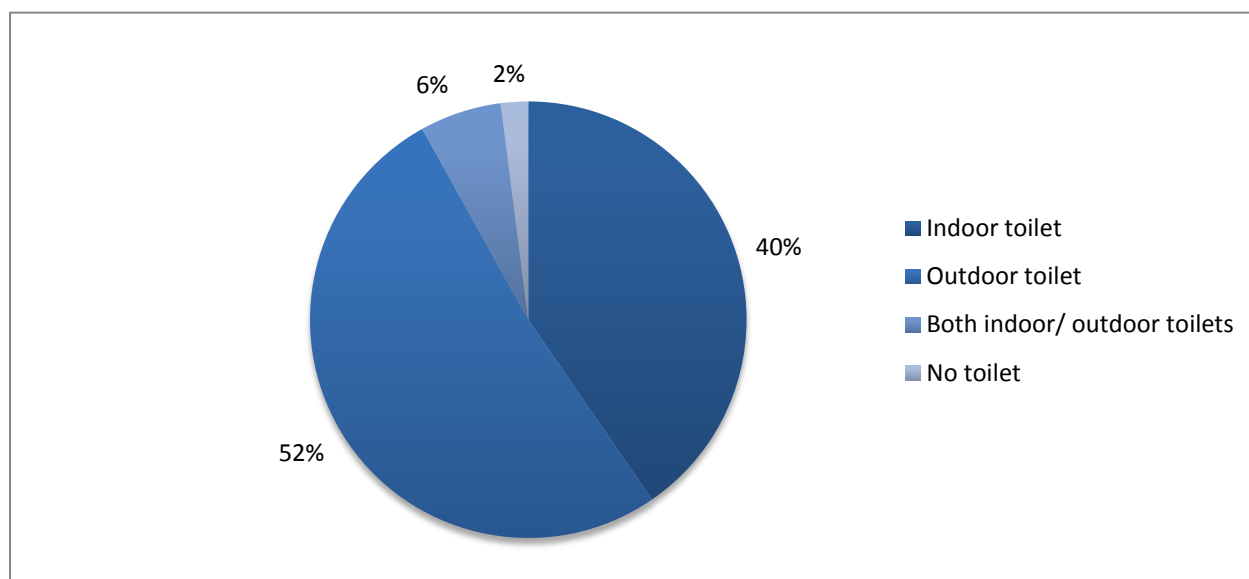


Figure 65: Location of the toilets

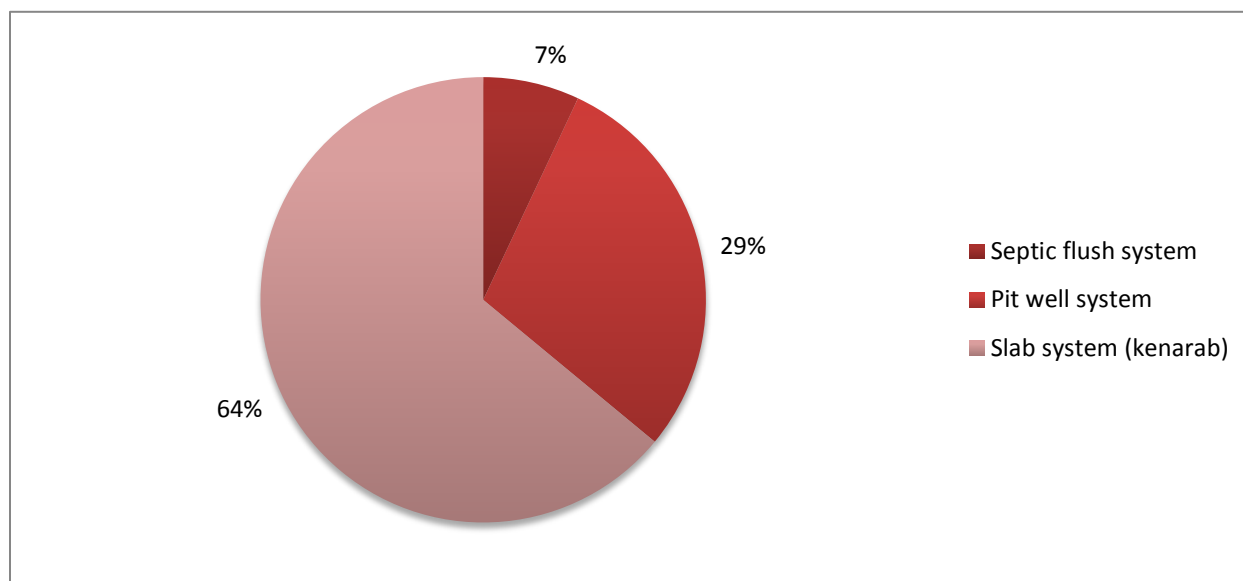


Figure 66: Toilet systems

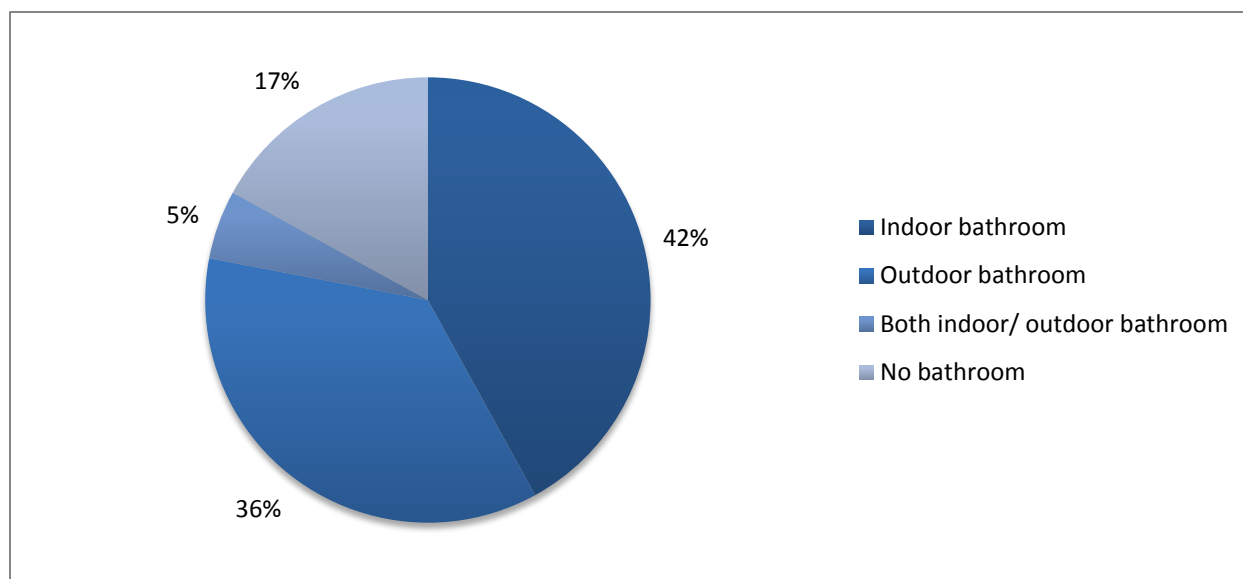


Figure 67: Location of the bathrooms

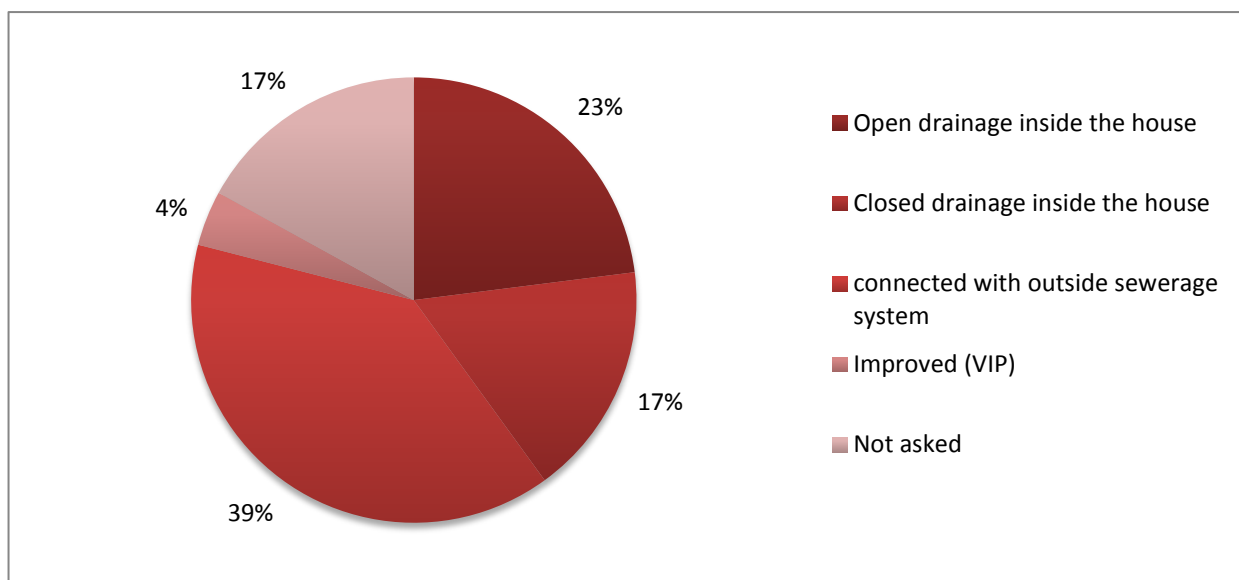


Figure 68: Type of water outlet from toilets and bathrooms

8.9 CONSTRUCTION COSTS

There is wide disparity in the cost of constructing a house, mainly depending on the material used and the year the house was built. The average house has been built for slightly more than AFA 159,000. However, there are wide disparities in the housing prices. In fact, the survey findings indicate the lowest priced house built was AFA 600,000, whereas the highest was AFA 7,000,000. However, it is also important to consider that these values are very crude. Firstly, these values do not take into account the size of the building or house. Second, and more importantly the construction material used varies greatly from one house to another house. Third, and possibly even more importantly, most of the houses with lower construction costs were constructed over the past 30 or 50 years, which makes it difficult to establish current house values.

9 INFRASTRUCTURE, SERVICES & FACILITIES

9.1 STREETS & ROADS

The streets conditions in the informal settlements are rather poor. In fact, four out of five streets are dirt streets, another 8 percent are gravel, and about 10 percent are concrete, constructed either by individuals or by NGOs. With regard to the main roads, the situation is slightly better. About half of the main roads are built using concrete, gravel or asphalt, but the other half is dirt.

Figure 69: Condition of inner residential streets

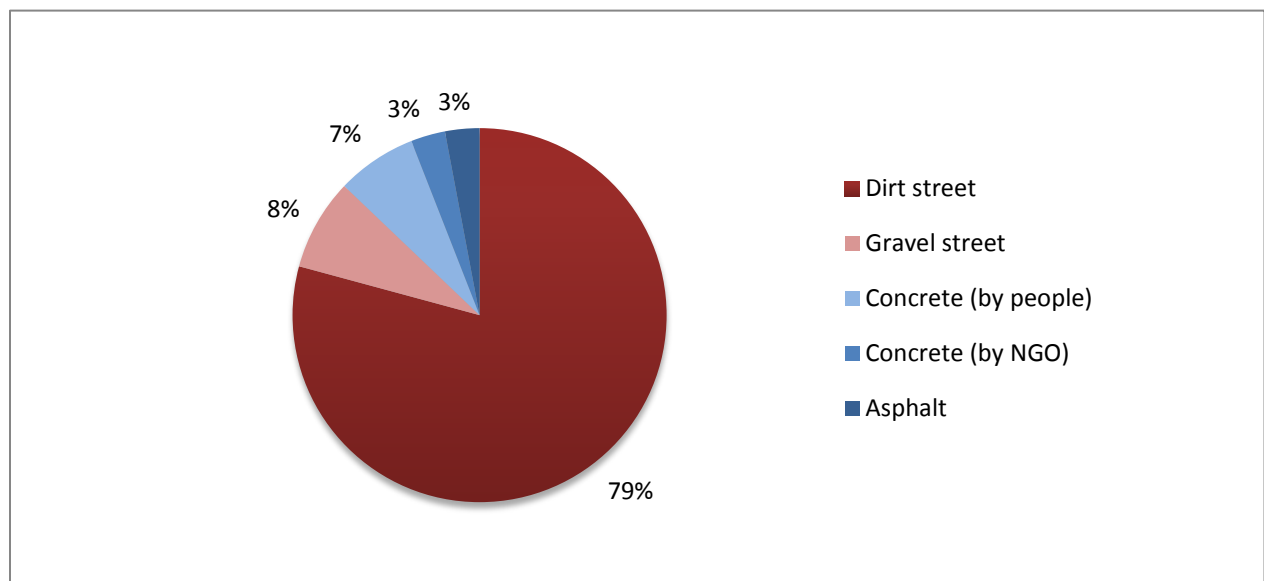




Figure 70: A side street cut in the middle by a self-made drainage channel

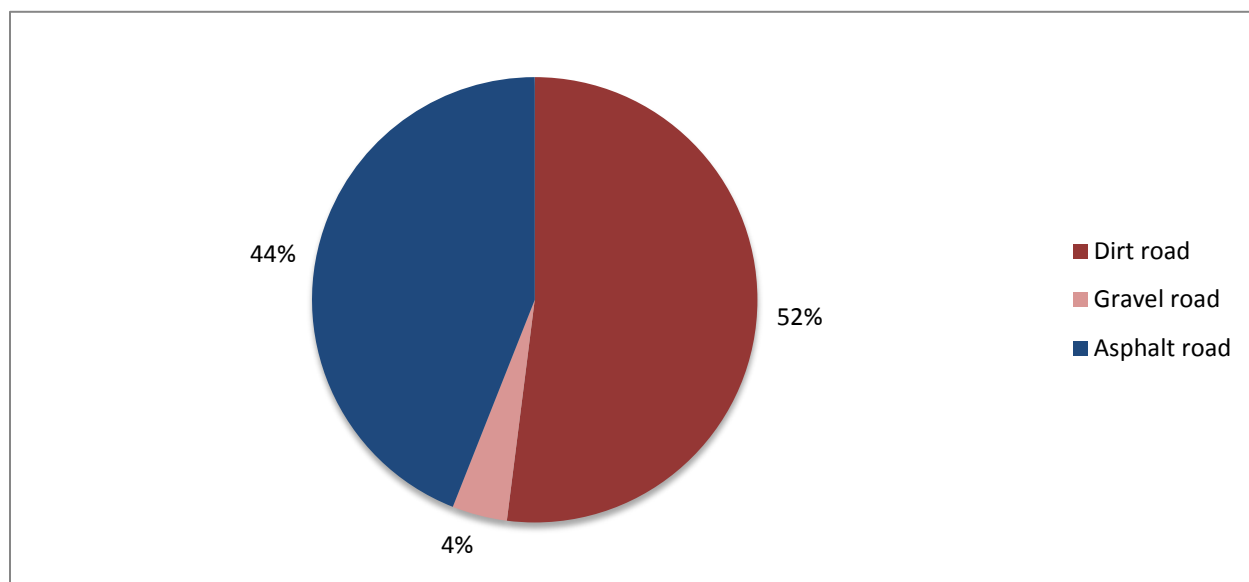


Figure 71: Condition of roads

9.2 DRAINAGE SYSTEM

Regarding the disposal of used grey water, the situation appears to be better, as about 81 percent of households have some kind of drainage systems that carries the grey water outside the compound, where it flows into the side ditches. About 15 percent of the households have their drainage wells inside the compound. Nearly 4 percent have no proper drainage at all-- their waste water remains inside the house.

Drainage systems developed by municipality or other organizations are rare in the informal settlements of Jalalabad. It is estimated that only 4 percent of informal homes are connected with Municipality/NGO-built drainage channels.



Figure 72: Typical drainage conditions in the informal settlements

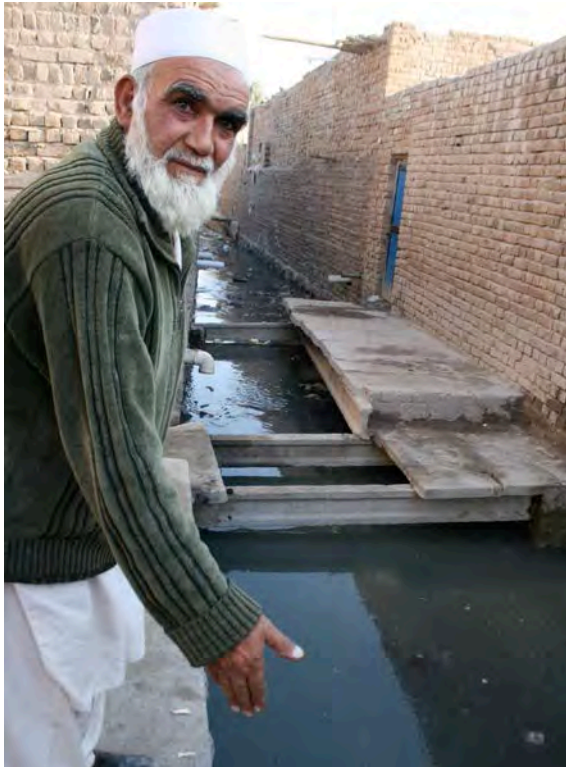


Figure 73: A community representative showing a channel full of water



Figure 74: Narrow ditches built by the community



Figure 75: Street with garbage-filled drainage channel

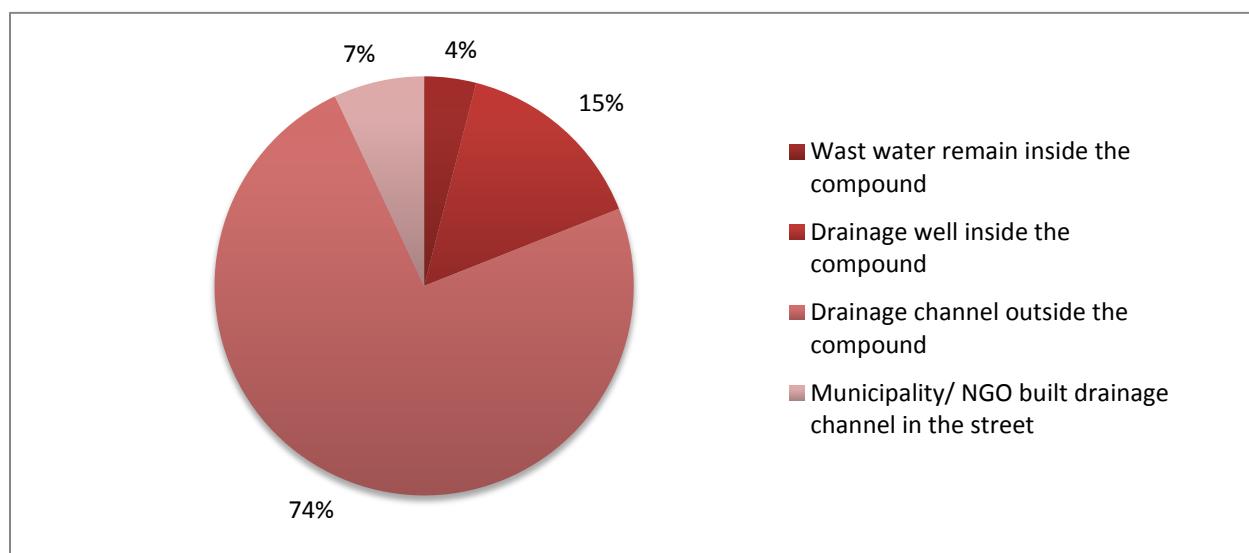


Figure 76: Water drainage practices

9.3 TRANSPORTATION MEANS

Only a minority of about 22 percent of the households has their own motorized vehicles. The majority of respondents either walks or uses bicycles to go from one place to another (respectively, 30 percent walk and 24 percent use bikes). Public transportation is also relatively rarely used. Only about 16 percent of the informal settlers use public transport and another 12 percent use auto-rickshaws as their transportation means. The reasons many people do not use public transport are most likely that: a) most of the study target areas are in the vicinity of downtown Jalalabad, b) public facilities are at a walking distance, and c) lack of or poor transport means.

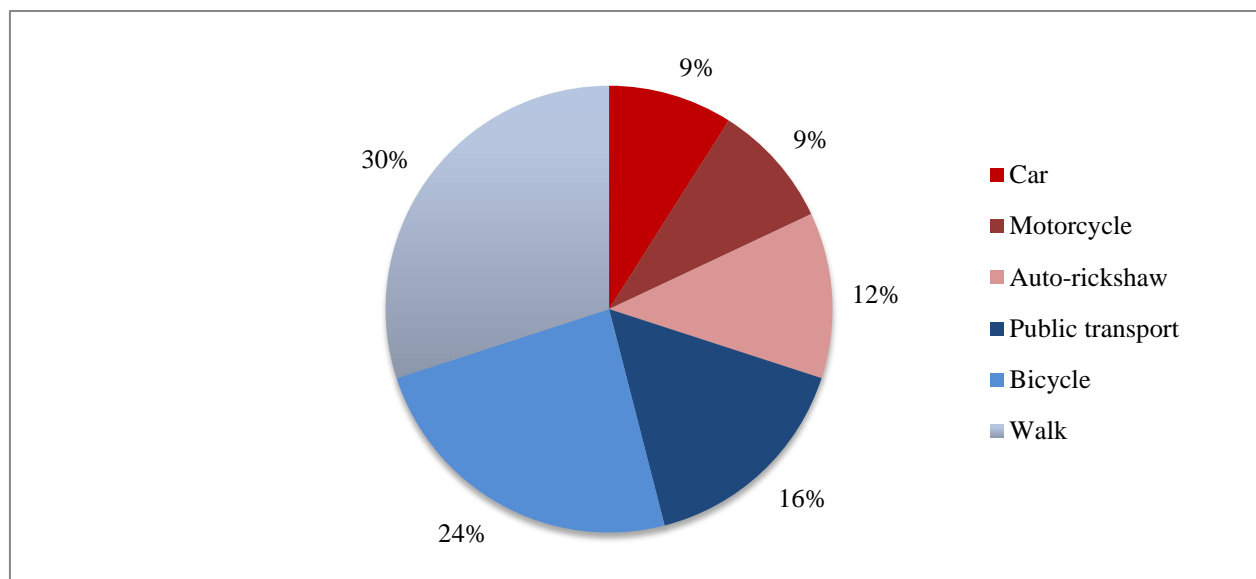


Figure 78: Main transportation means



Figure 77: Rickshaws are common in these areas

9.4 WATER SOURCES

Only approximately 21 percent of the informal settlements have access to safe drinking water and use from the city network. About 69 percent draw their water from a well or a spring located on their premise. About 10 percent have no access to water on their plot.



Figure 80: Hand pump provided by an NGO

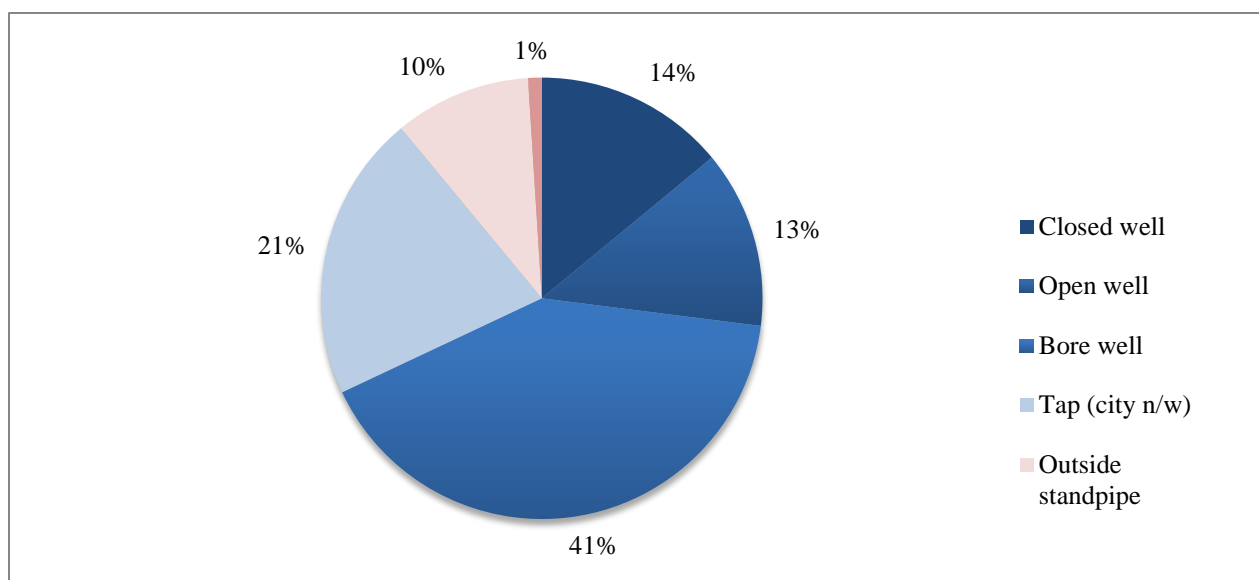


Figure 79: Sources of water for drinking and household use

9.5 SCHOOLS, HOSPITALS & PARKS

Basic facilities such as schools, hospitals and parks are in the vicinity of most dwellers' compounds. For example, for 71 percent of the respondents, a school is within 30 minutes walking distance. The numbers are somewhat lower for hospitals, which only 49 percent of the respondents can reach by foot within half an hour. For parks, the numbers are even lower. Overall, these numbers indicate that green areas are missing in most informal settlements. The survey data indicates that 36 percent of respondents have access to private hospitals, 25 percent to a local pharmacy, and 24 percent to traditional remedies. The remaining 15 percent have access to health centers across Jalalabad.

Figure 81: Distance of public facilities from the settlements by foot

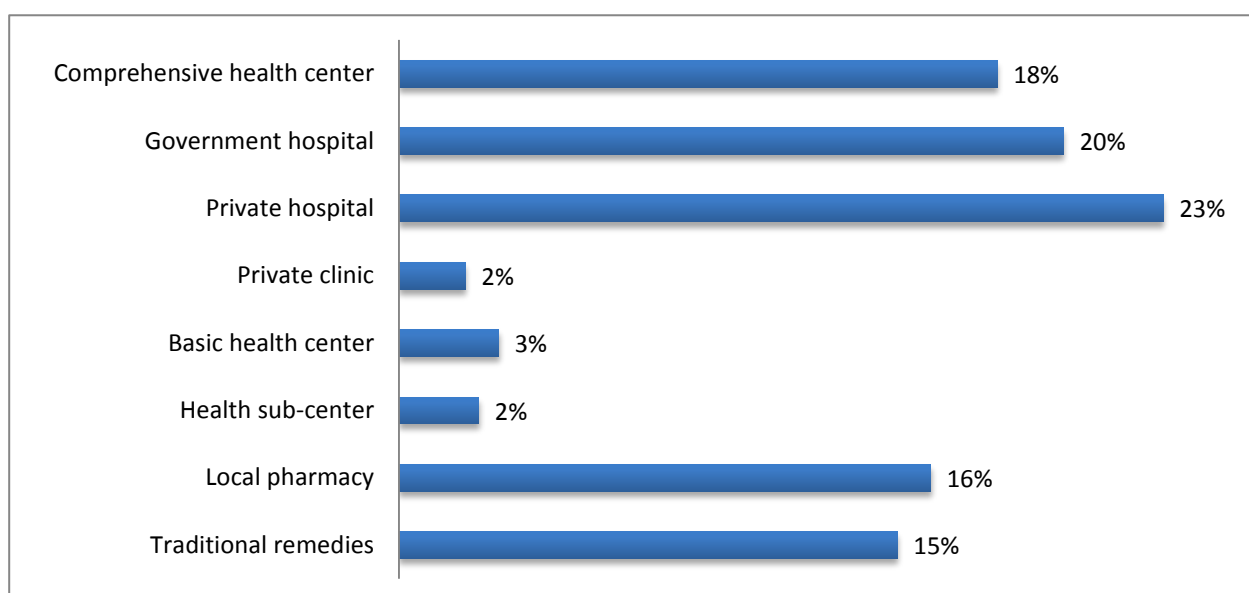
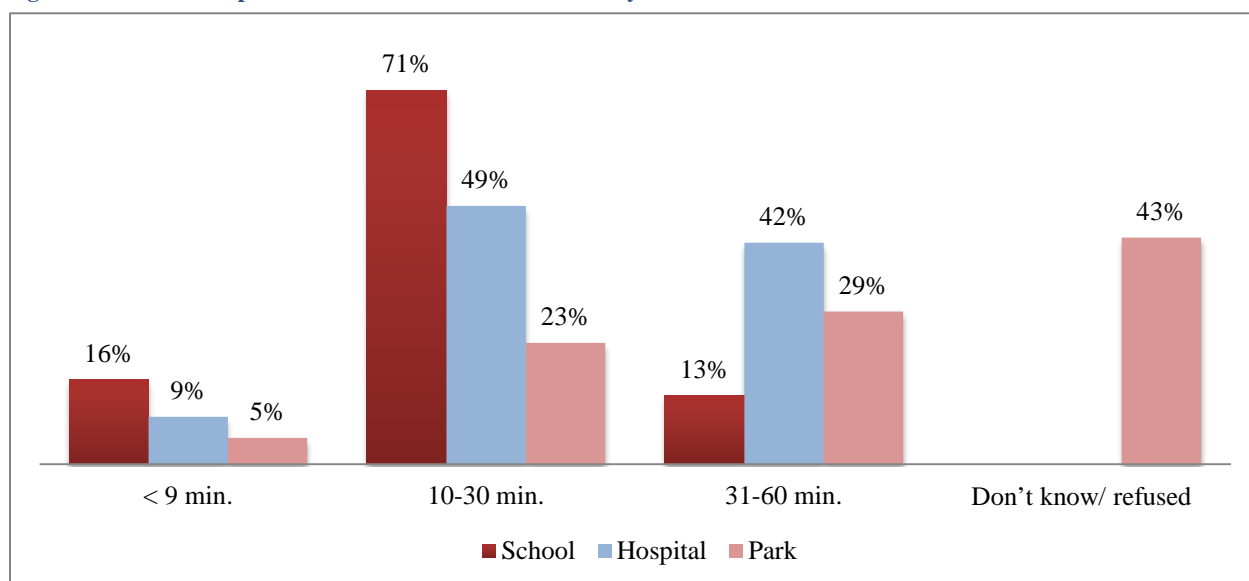


Figure 82: Types of health facilities people have access to

9.6 GARBAGE COLLECTION

The municipality is collecting garbage only in 20 percent of the areas. Forty-one percent of respondents organize for private garbage collection. The rest of the settlers dispose of it freely outside their homes. Many of these respondents say that they either do not know who collects the garbage or that there are no services available to collect garbage outside the allocated garbage disposal points.

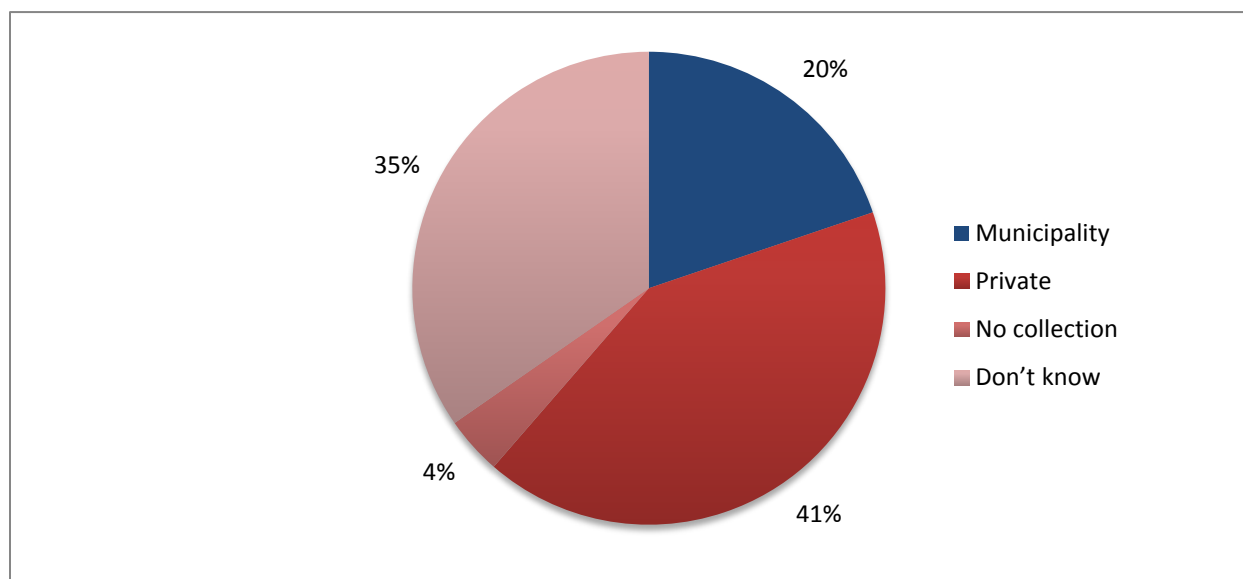


Figure 83: Garbage collection methods



Figure 84: Garbage disposed freely in the streets

In those instances, where there is some garbage collection, it is very infrequent. In more than half of the cases it is collected only once a month. In the summer, especially, these infrequent garbage collection patterns are likely to be a major source for the spread of disease and infections.

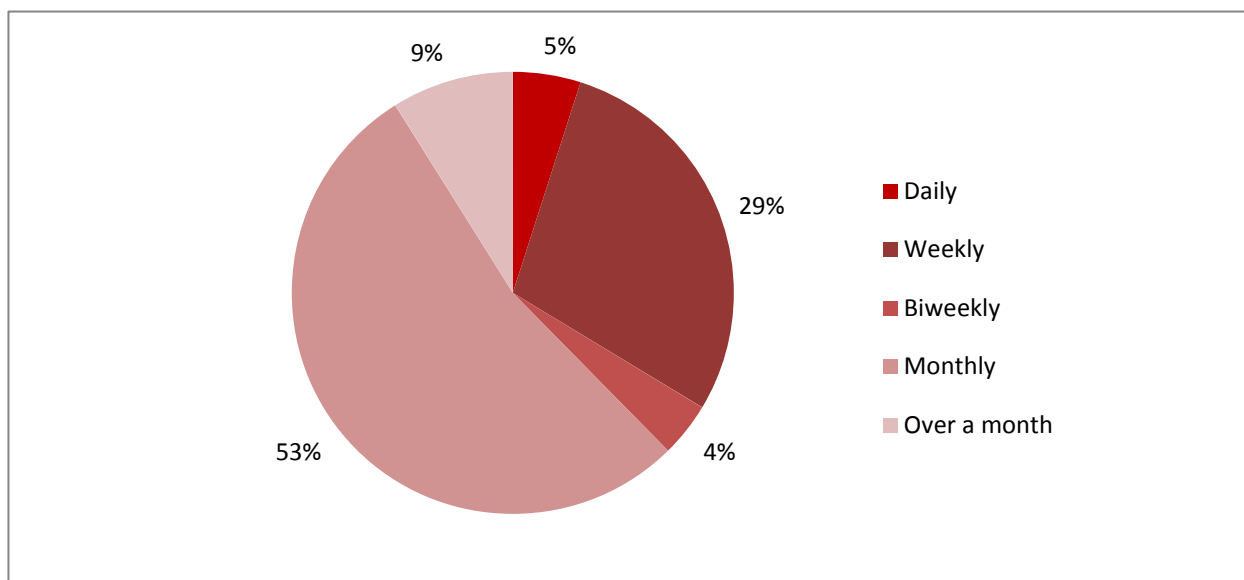


Figure 85: Frequency of garbage collection

9.7 SAFAYI TAX

Survey results show that 29 percent of homeowners³ pay the Safayi tax – equal to 21 percent of all respondents. In contrast, 50 percent of the whole sample or 69 percent of homeowners say that they do not pay the tax. The reason for which people are not paying their Safayi tax is the apparent lack of awareness on the purpose of the Safayi tax and its modalities. Approximately 23 percent of the respondents said they do not pay it because they are not aware of it. About 11 percent have said they are

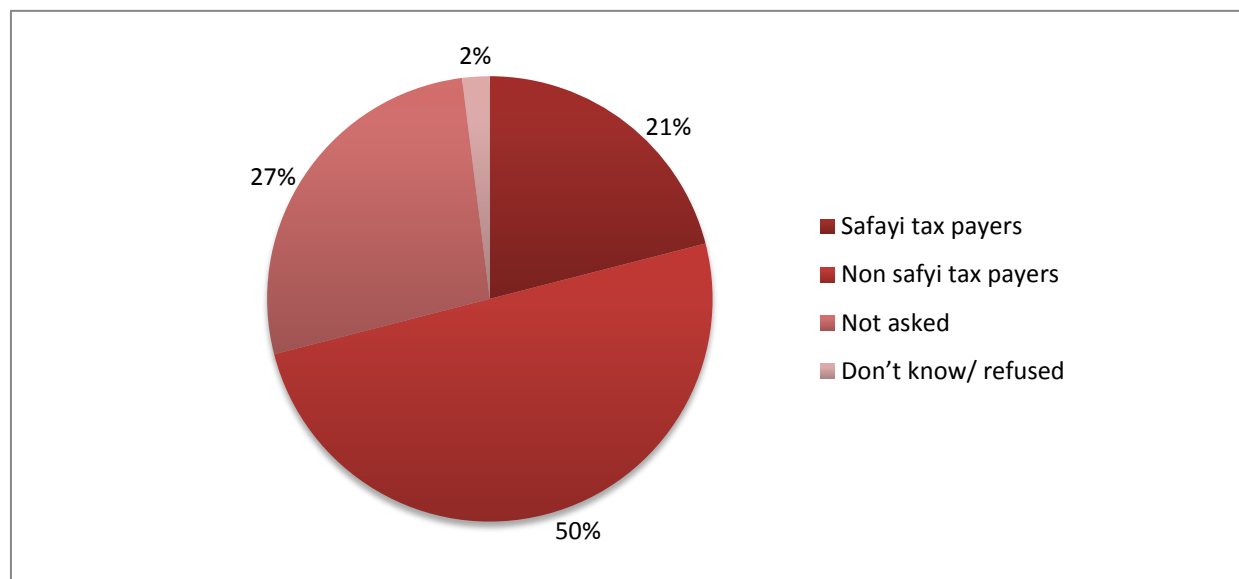


Figure 86: Households paying the Safayee tax in the informal settlements of Jalalabad

³ It must be noted that surveyors asked this question only to homeowners.

not required to pay Safayi tax because they live on an informally developed area.

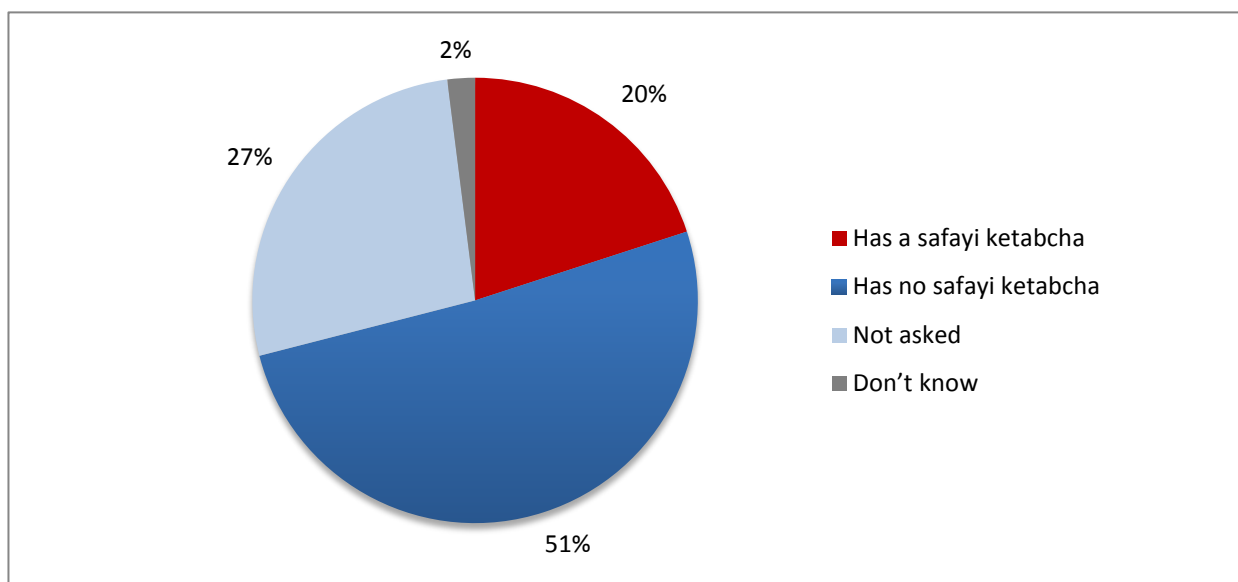


Figure 87: Households that have a *Safayi ketabcha*

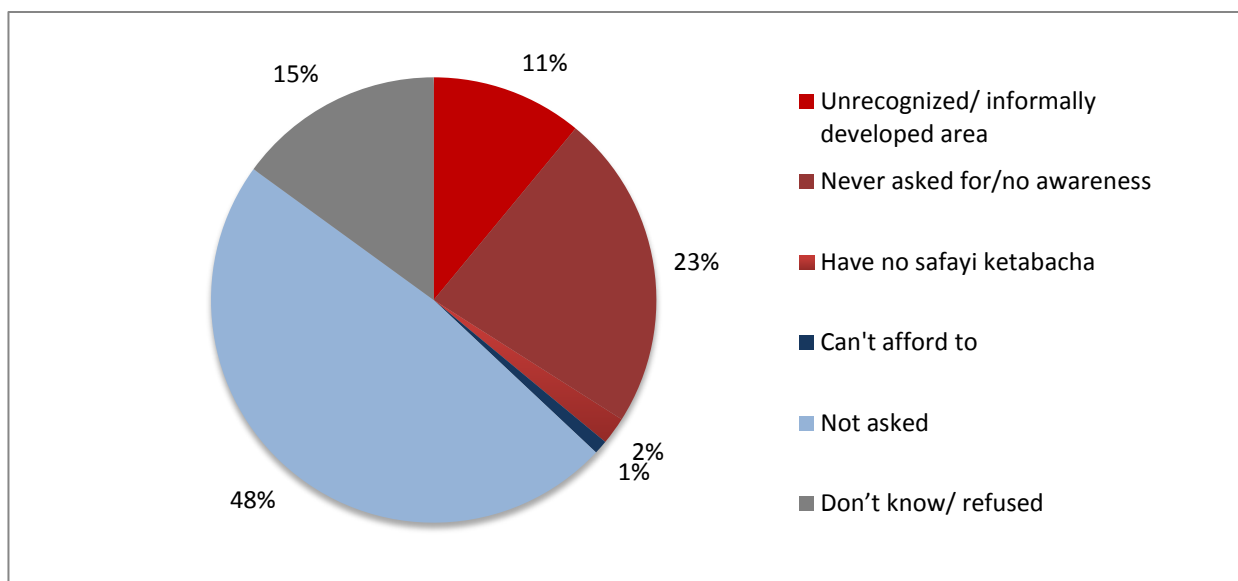


Figure 88: Reasons for not paying Safayi tax

10 HEALTH & HYGIENE

10.1 QUALITY OF DRINKING WATER

About 49 percent of the informal dwellers judge their drinking water to be of good quality, and 36 percent say the drinking water is passable, while 15 percent deem it poor. The water quality might be even poorer given the fact that people often do not realize whether the drinking water is contaminated or not. Only a few residents use a water treatment technique, such as filtration, chlorination or boiling, before using the water. In fact, nearly 90 percent use the water as it comes from the source (e.g. well or city network), without any treatment. As stated in the conclusions of the study, improving the quality of the drinking water by connecting the informal houses to the city network might be one of the key strategies to improve the living and health conditions of the population living in Jalalabad informal settlements.

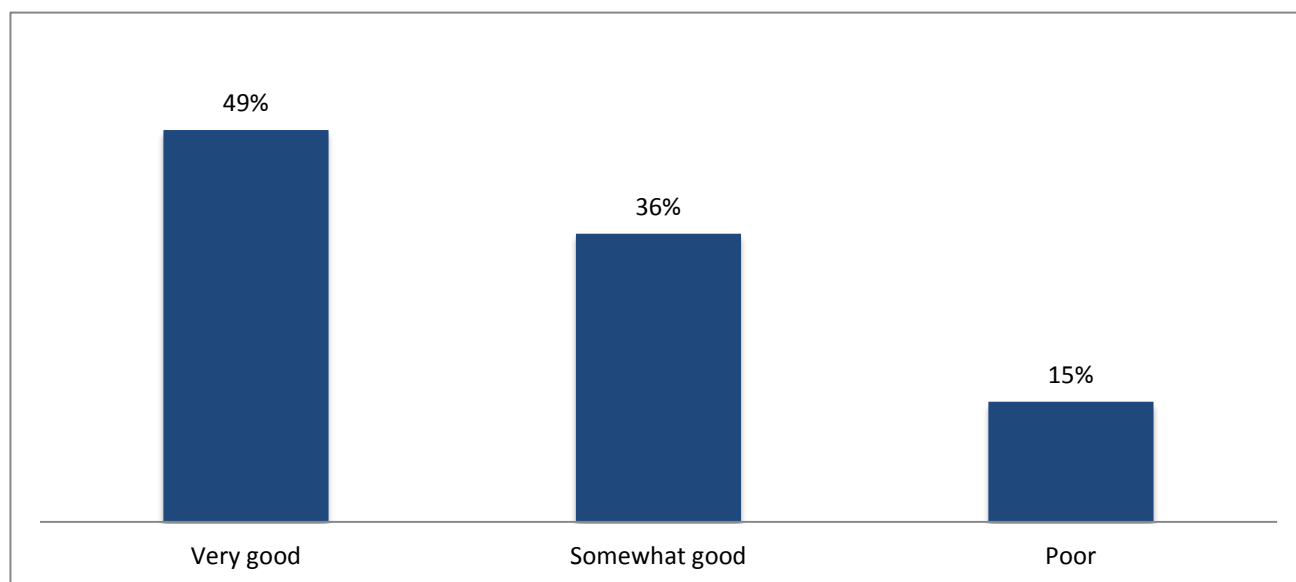


Figure 89: Quality of drinking water

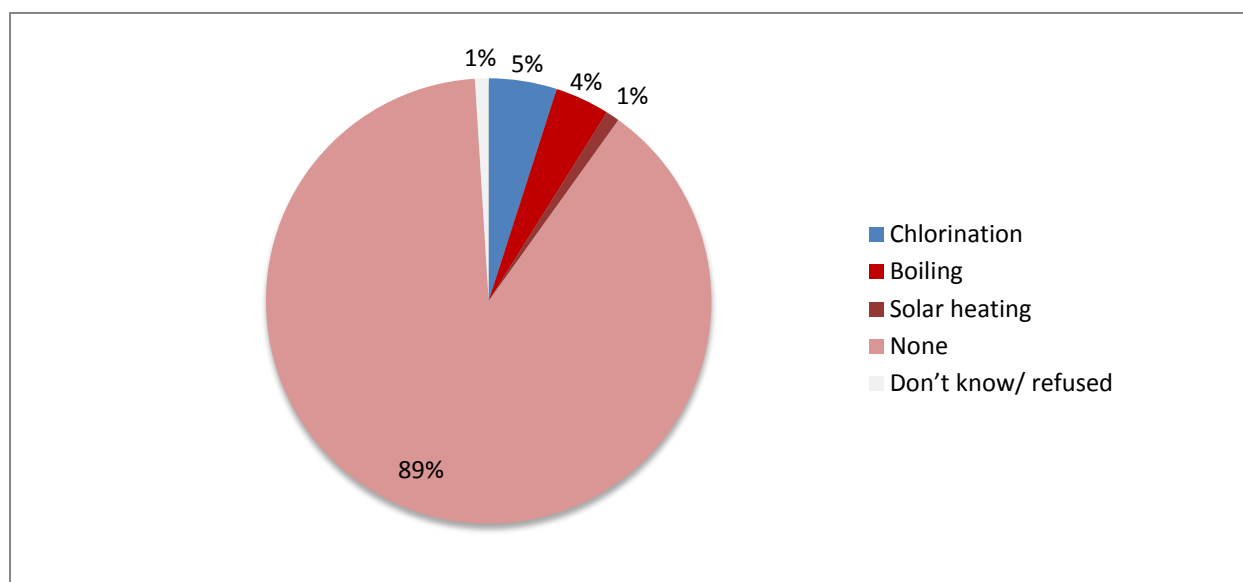


Figure 90: Water treatment techniques

10.2 OCCURRENCES OF ILLNESSES

Diseases are very widely spread in the informal settlements of Jalalabad. Over the course of the 3months⁴, on average, every family has been hit by about three different diseases. Only 5 percent of all families did not suffer from any disease over the course of three months.

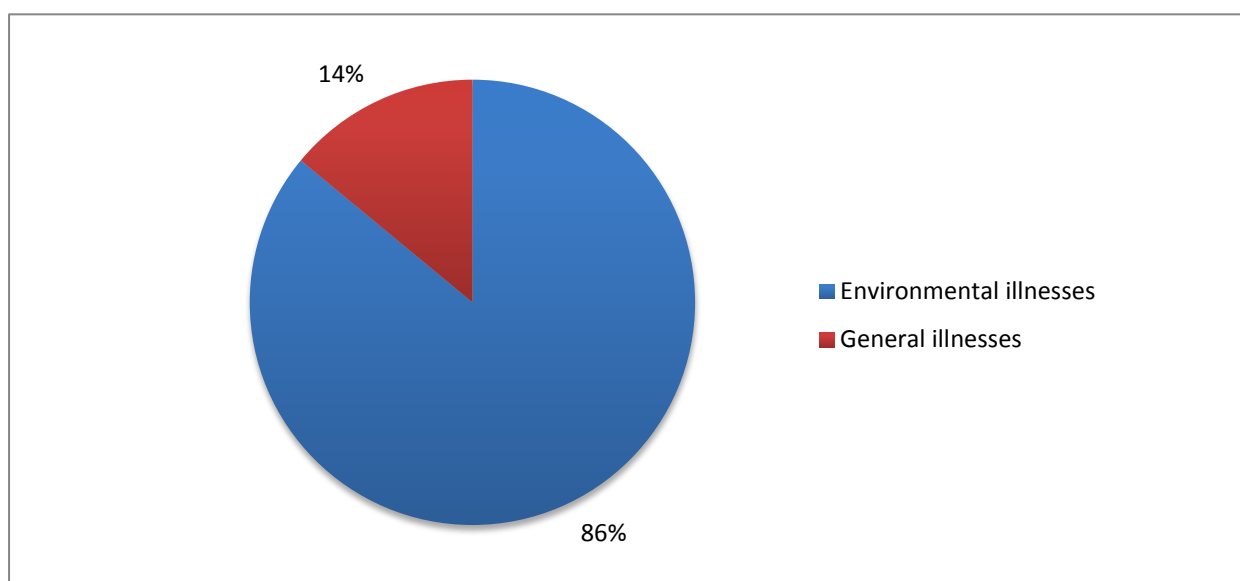


Figure 91: Causes of diseases

⁴ The survey field work was conducted between Dec 15, 2011 to Jan 15, 2012

The majority (86 percent) of these illnesses is environmental, and 14 percent are general non-environmental diseases. In particular, malaria and pneumonia are wide spread. More than 60 percent of families suffered from either of these two diseases. In addition, more than 50 percent suffered from some sort of diarrhea, which is an indication that the water quality and hygiene are poor. The yearly data also indicates that other serious diseases such as Typhoid or E-Coli are relatively widespread. It is very likely that the frequency of disease affects peoples' ability to work, as illness might prevent them from going to work and enjoying their social lives.

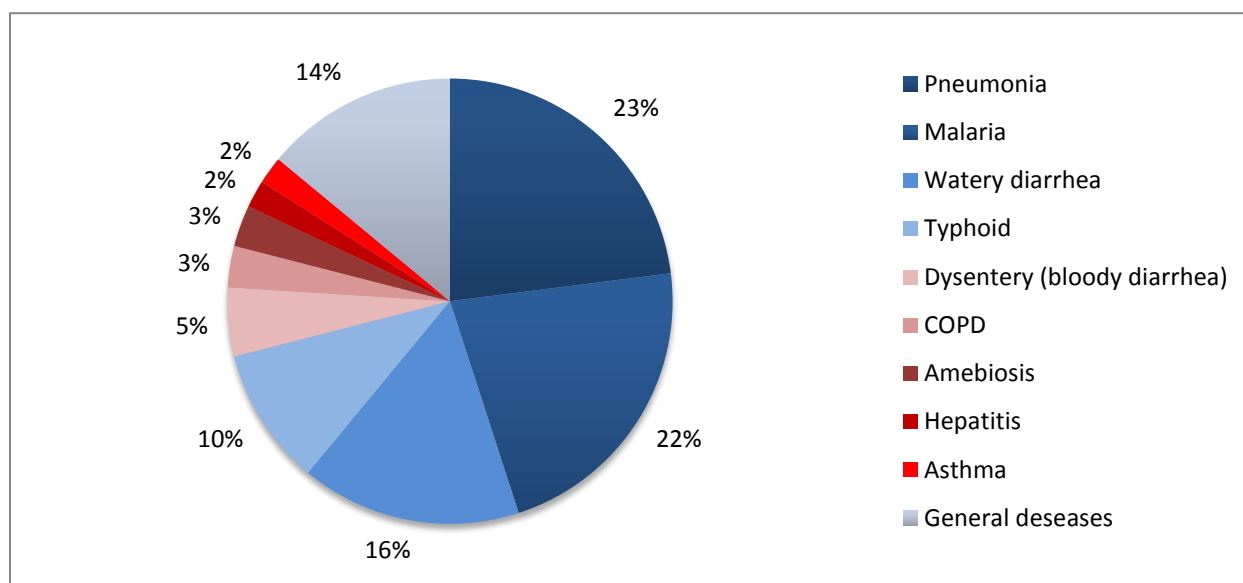


Figure 92: Estimates of illness-affected households over 3 months



Figure 93: Some households need to fetch water from faraway standpipes

	Responses		
	N	Percent	Percent of Cases
Malaria	300	25.3%	71.3%
Amebiosis	36	3.0%	8.6%
Worms	9	0.8%	2.1%
Hepatitis	30	2.5%	7.1%
Typhoid	143	12.1%	34.0%
Dysentery (bloody diarrhea)	56	4.7%	13.3%
Watery Diarrhea	223	18.8%	53.0%
COPD	42	3.5%	10.0%
Asthma	28	2.4%	6.7%
Pneumonia	318	26.8%	75.5%
Total	1,185	100.0%	281.5%

Table 1: Absolute number of illness-affected families in three months

	Responses		Percent of Cases
	N	Percent	
Malaria	339	23.7%	79.8%
Amebiosis	56	3.9%	13.2%
Worms	17	1.2%	4.0%
Hepatitis	36	2.5%	8.5%
Typhoid	176	12.3%	41.4%
Dysentery (bloody diarrhea)	60	4.2%	14.1%
Watery Diarrhea	236	16.5%	55.5%
COPD	48	3.3%	11.3%
Asthma	31	2.2%	7.3%
Pneumonia	312	21.8%	73.4%
E-coli	92	6.4%	21.6%
Fever	10	0.7%	2.4%
Cholera	17	1.2%	4.0%
Meningitis	3	0.2%	0.7%
Total	1,433	100.0%	337.2%

Table 2. Absolute number of illnesses affected families in twelve months

11 SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Radio is a key source of information for more than half (54 percent) of informal settlers. About 32 percent watch TV, 8 percent get information through the *Masjid*/Mullah, and 4 percent read the newspaper. Only 3 percent of the dwellers use other sources of information (including word of mouth through friends and family (1 percent), *Dera*/community elder (1 percent), community worker (0.5 percent), and internet, (0.2 percent)).

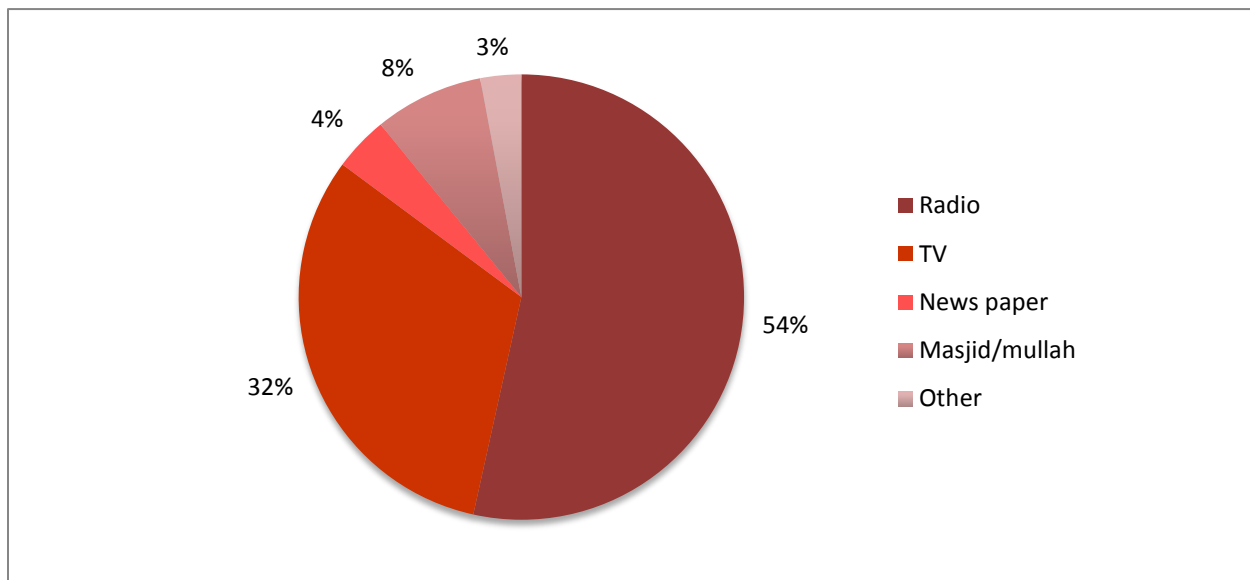


Figure 94: Sources of information

The radio channels that most people listen to are: Nangarhar Radio (18 percent), Sharq Radio (17 percent), BBC Radio (11 percent), Azadi/Liberty Radio (11 percent), and Nargis Radio (7 percent). Another 12 percent is equally split between RTA, VoA-Ashna, and Kilid and 8 percent equally split between Safa and Hamisha Bahar radios. Only 3 percent listen to Meena radio. About 8 percent of settlers listen to other radio channels.

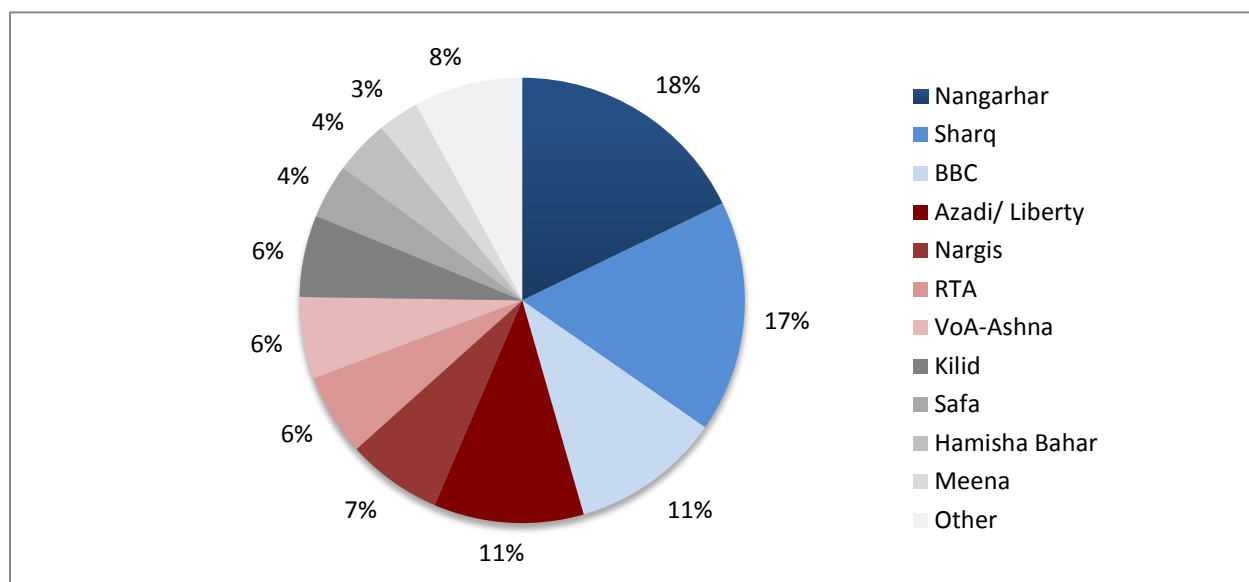


Figure 95: Radio channels that respondents listen the most

Popular Television channels in Jalalabad are Shamshad TV channel which is watched by 32 percent of those who watch TV. Approximately 21, 19, 17 and 5 percent of the settlers watch Aryana, Lemar, RTA and Sharq, respectively. The remaining 2 percent watch other channels, such as Dawat, Tolo, Danish, Channel I, Nangarhar or cable television).

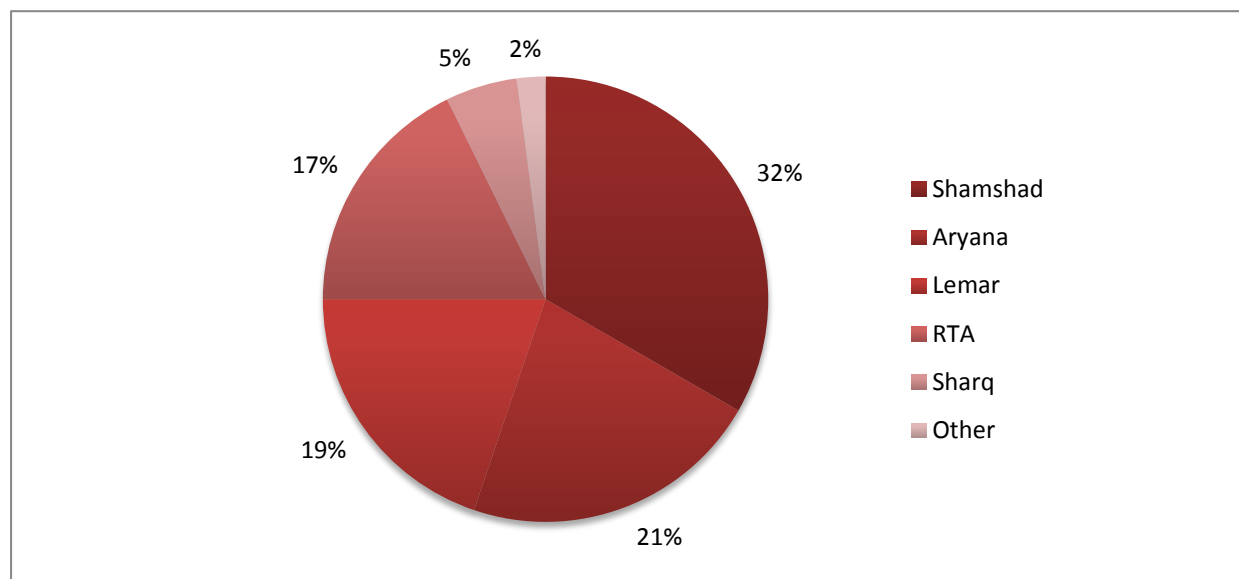


Figure 96: Television channels that respondents watch the most

Most of the newspaper readers, 50 percent, read Wahdat Daily, while 45 percent of them read Nangarhar Daily. The rest of the newspaper readers read Weesa Daily, Cheragh Daily, Shahadat Daily or Azadi/Liberty newspapers.

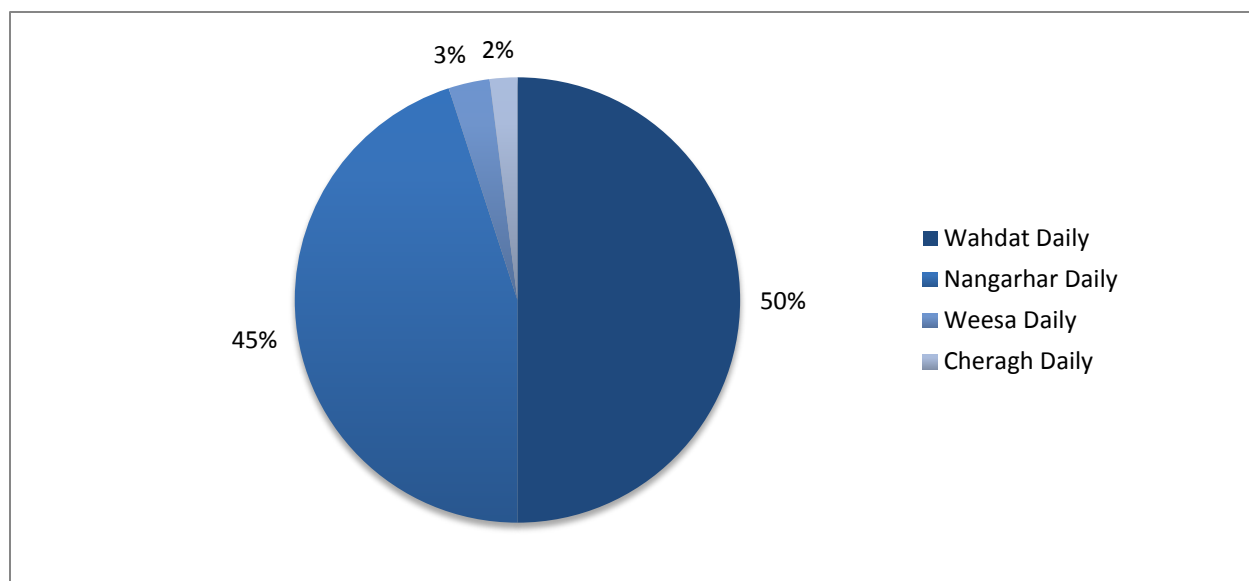


Figure 97: Newspapers that people read the most



Figure 98: Surveyor at work in the field

12 SATISFACTION, CONCERNS & FUTURE PLANS

12.1 SATISFACTION WITH MUNICIPAL SERVICES

About half of the interviewees living in the informal settlements appear to be very dissatisfied with their current access to municipal services. In fact, 70 percent of the respondents say that they are not satisfied and another 16 percent claim to be less satisfied. Only 6 percent claim to be satisfied, and another 8 percent refuse to answer the question. However, it is likely this final group is also rather dissatisfied with the services or refuses to answer because there are no such services. These numbers are even more revealing given that more than half of the respondents claim to participate in community service and infrastructure projects. Without citizens' involvement, the infrastructure and services might be even poorer.

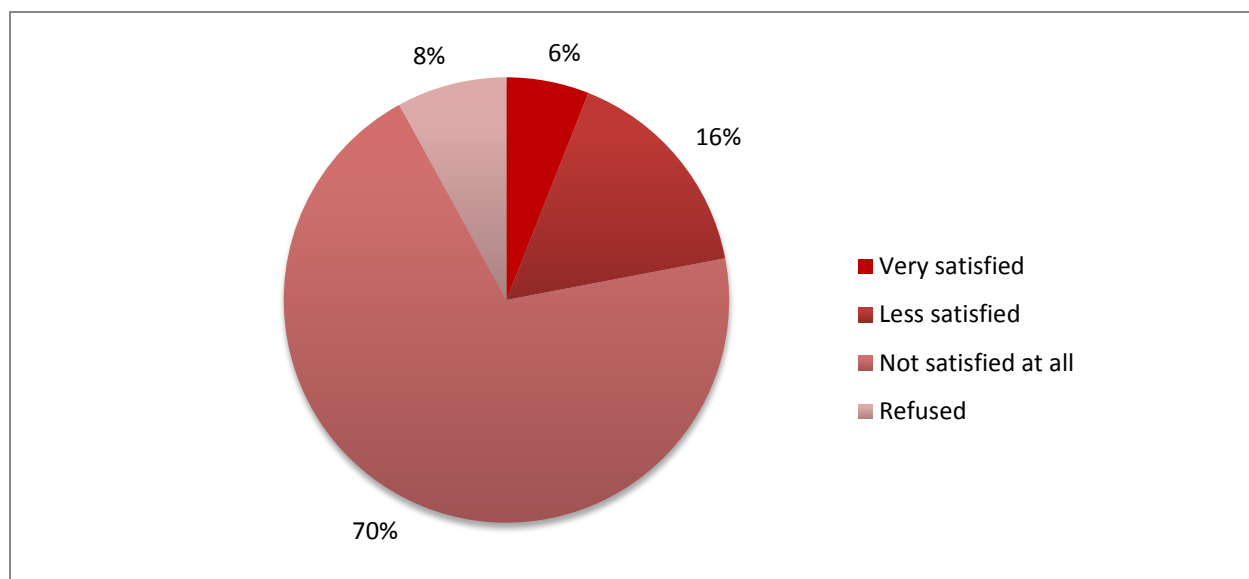


Figure 99: Satisfaction with municipality services

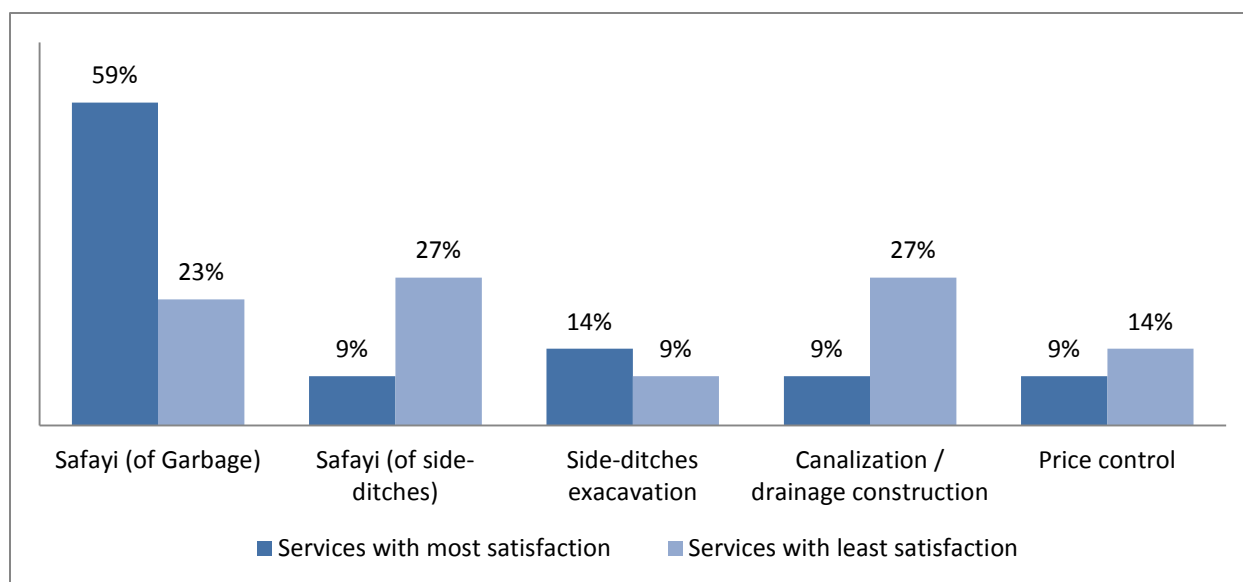
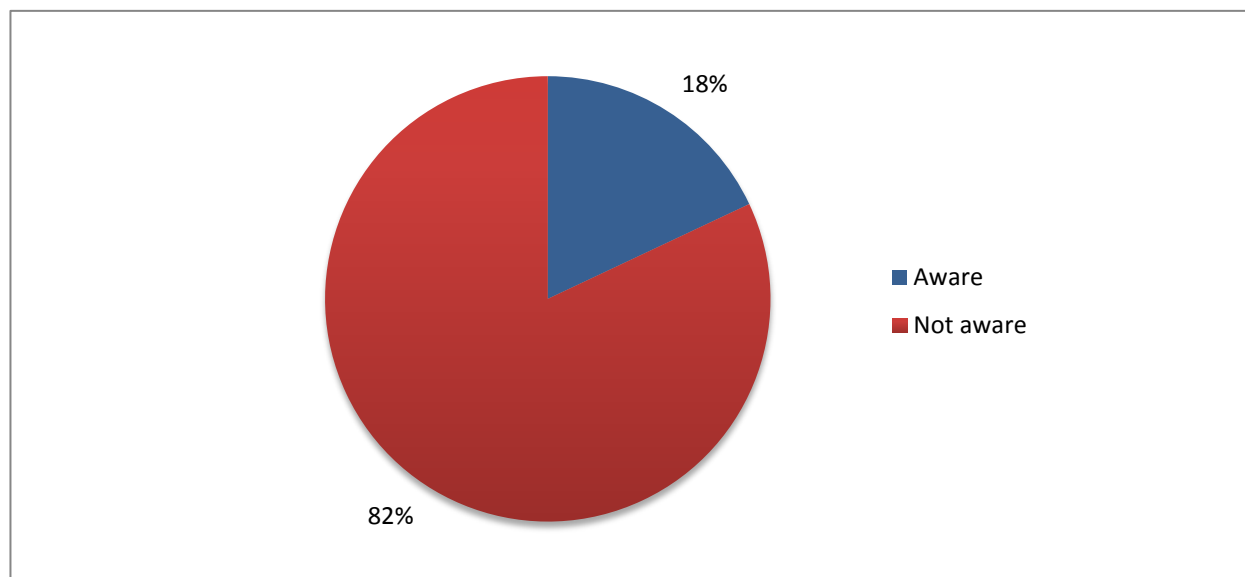


Figure 100: Services the satisfied residents are satisfied or unsatisfied with

12.2 SATISFACTION WITH MAKHZAN SERVICES

The majority of the informal settlers in Jalalabad city are not aware of the services provided by *makhzan*. Only 18 percent of owners said they are aware of the services they offer. About 40 percent of those aware of *makhzan* services are very satisfied with its services. 40 percent are less satisfied and 13 percent are not satisfied at all.

Figure 101: Level of awareness about services from *makhzan*



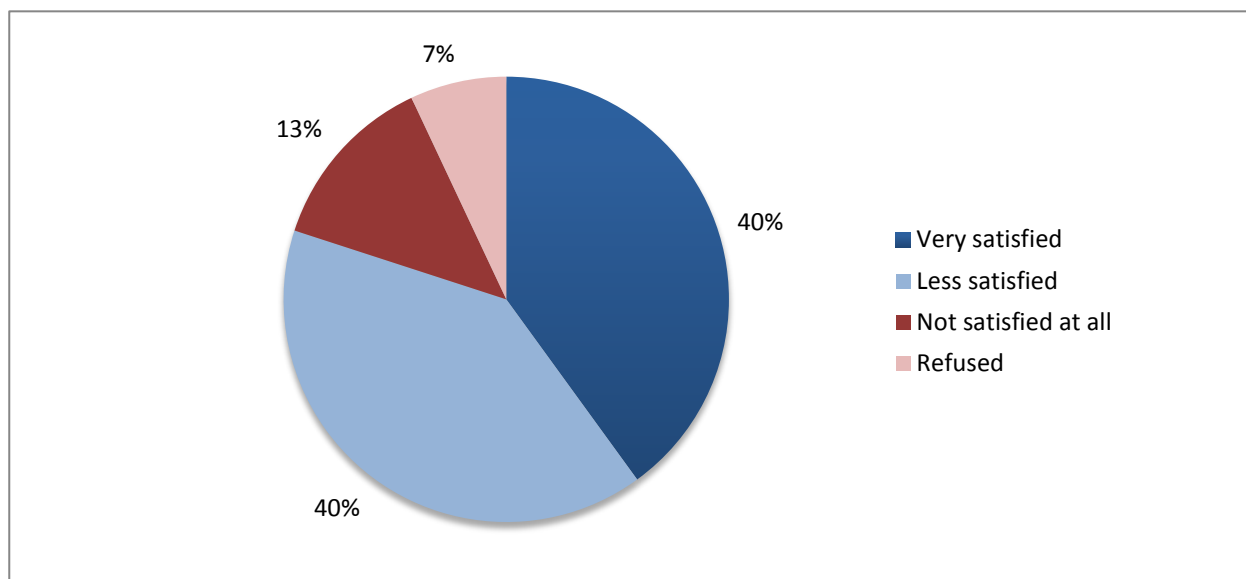


Figure 102: Level of satisfaction with services from *makhzan*

12.3 CONCERNS OF THE DWELLERS

The major concerns of the informal settlers of the Jalalabad city are, respectively: economic hardship (37 percent), poor access to services (30 percent), environmental protection and natural disasters (26 percent), and personal and tenure security (8 percent).

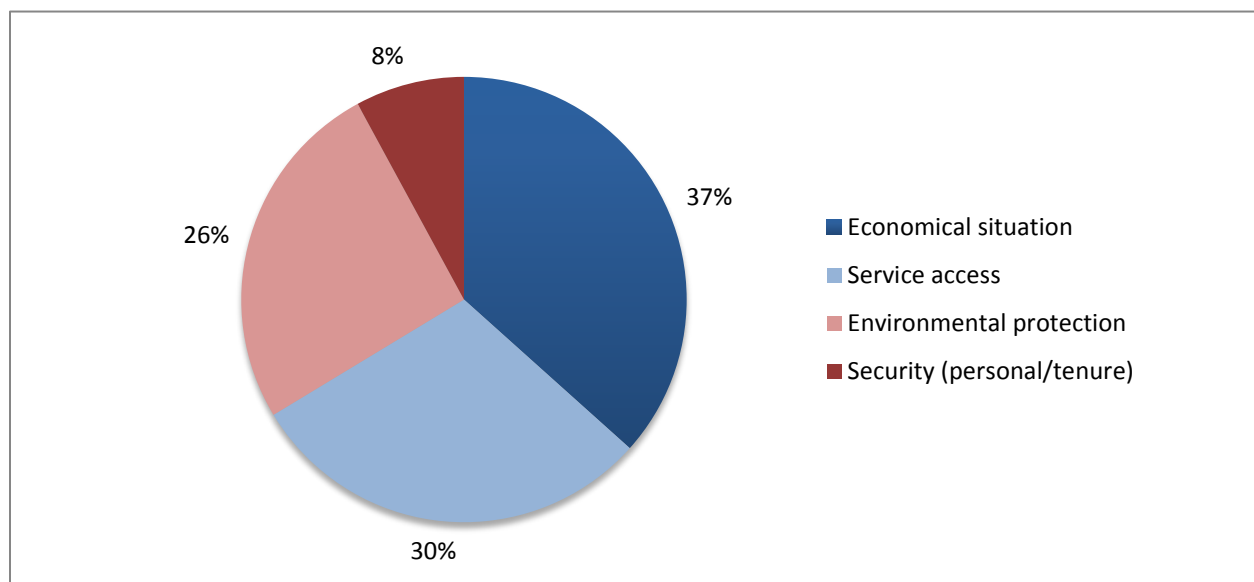


Figure 103: Concerns of the informal settlers

A breakdown of the issues the settlers are concerned with shows that the scarcity of employment is the main challenge that the residents are confronted with on a regular basis. Secondly, they are unsatisfied with the poor living conditions and infrastructure.

For example, around half the respondents said that lack of electricity and lack of proper asphalted streets are the main issues and challenges. Thirdly, about 25 percent add pollution as well as access to healthcare facilities and clinics as additional grave problems.

12.4 FUTURE PLANS OF THE DWELLERS

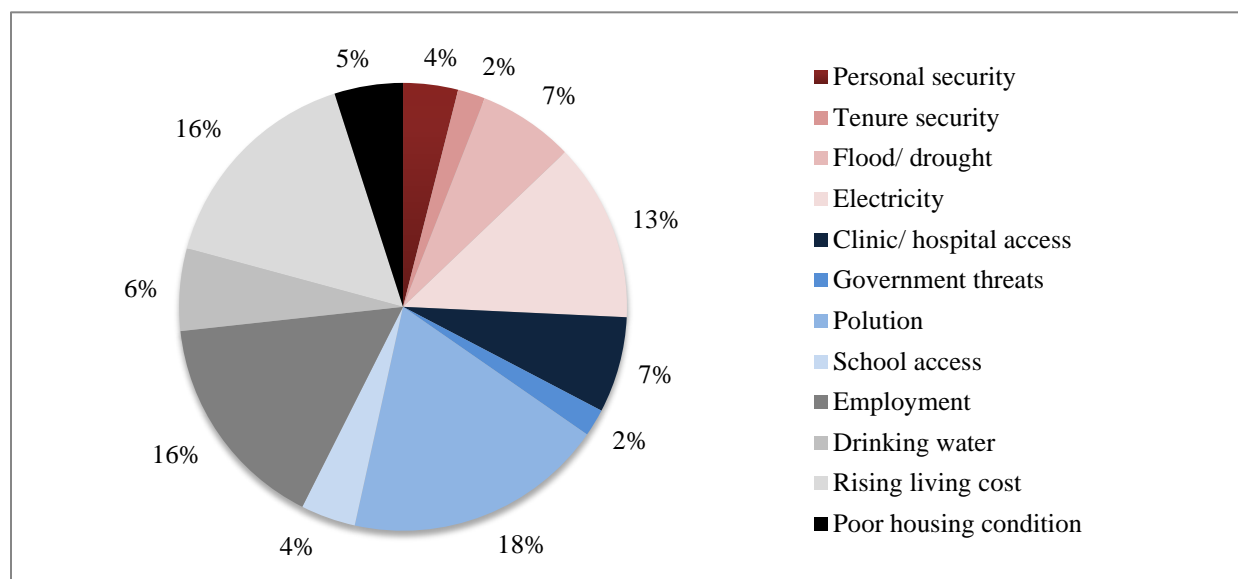


Figure 104: Future plans

Nearly 60 percent of the informal settlers plan to stay in the same area in the future and 19 percent intend to move to another place (5 percent of this plan to move to family property elsewhere). About 15 percent intend to register their properties with the government. A small number, around 5 percent, of the settlers plan to invest more in the house they live in.

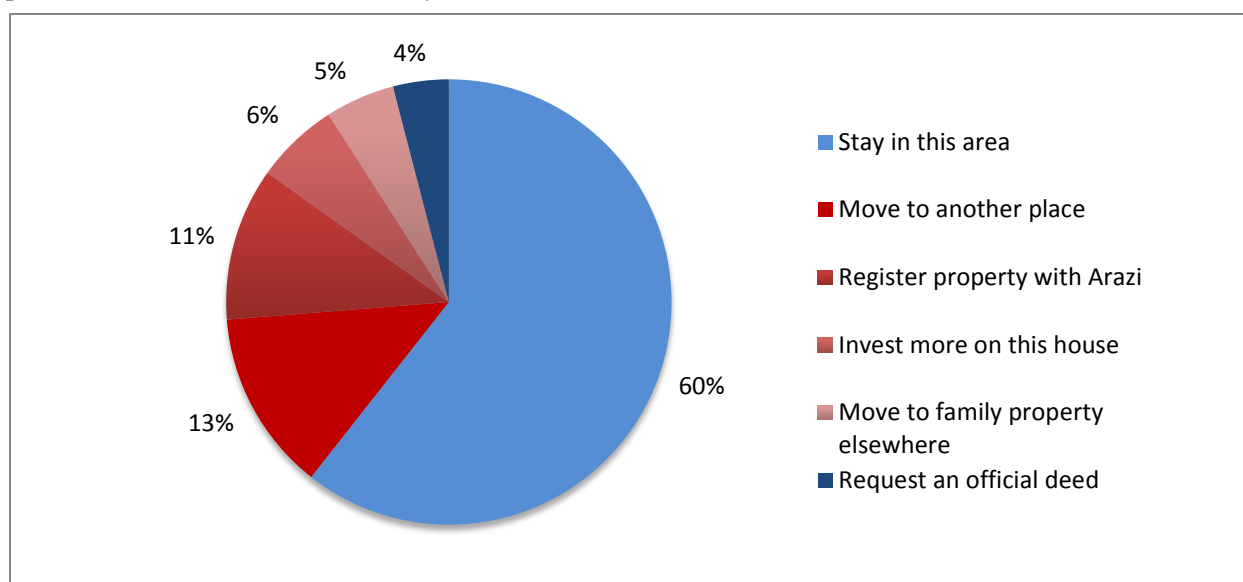


Figure 105: Concerns of the informal settlers

13 COMPARISON OF THE SETTLEMENTS

In this section the reader will find some descriptive statistics on the quality of houses, infrastructure and occurrence of diseases for the different informal settlements that were part of the present study. Aiming to highlight differences between these settlements, this section also provides guidance for future development projects. In particular this section will highlight three major challenges that should be addressed: the lack of bathrooms in houses, the poor quality of the streets in the settlements, and the occurrence of various diseases in the informal settlements of Jalalabad.



Figure 106: Surveyor discussing with LARA's M&E team

13.1 BATHROOMS AND WASHROOMS

There are wide differences in the conditions of houses from one settlement to another. For example, the range of settlements with no bathroom goes from zero percent for Majboor Abad, Qasim Abad I and Qasim Abad II and 40 percent for Toap Ghundai. While there were settlements with smaller populations, the percentages provided here still give an indication of differences in the citizens' living standards. Efforts to improve the quality of living should be geared toward those settlements that have few or no sanitary provisions.

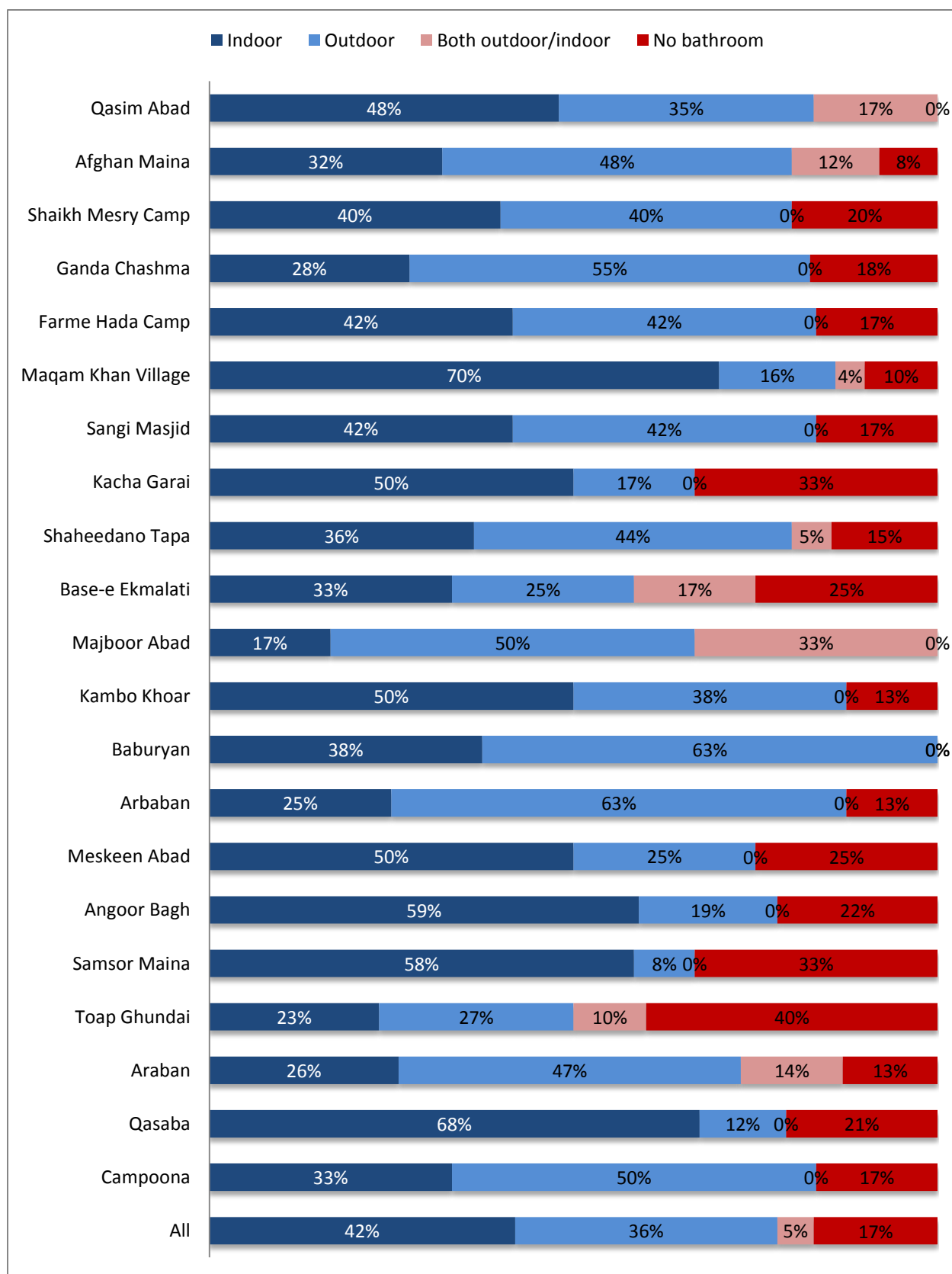


Figure 107: Location of washrooms in the informal settlements of Jalalabad

13.2 CONDITION OF STREETS & ROADS

Similar discrepancies are also visible for the condition of streets. While in some settlements there are dirt streets (e.g. Anghoor Bagh), other settlements (Campoona) have one out of six streets asphalted. The worst street condition is found in Angoor Bagh, Meskeen Abad, Majboor Abad, Base-e Ekmalati, Maqam Khan Village, Ganda Chashma and Shaikh Mesri, where 100 percent of the streets are reported to be dirt. Conditions in Arbaban, Baburyan, and Sangi Masjid are better as some of the streets have been surfaced using concrete either by dwellers or an NGO.

	Dirt Street	Gravel Street	Concrete surface (built by people)	Asphalt	Concrete surface (built by NGO)
ALL	80%	8%	7%	3%	3%
Campoona	42%	42%	0%	17%	0%
Qasaba	82%	0%	13%	6%	0%
Araban	73%	7%	9%	4%	10%
Toap Ghundai	79%	0%	3%	0%	0%
Samsor Maina	25%	42%	0%	0%	0%
Angoor Bagh	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Meskeen Abad	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Arbaban	13%	0%	50%	0%	38%
Baburyan	50%	0%	25%	0%	25%
Kambo Khoar	63%	38%	0%	0%	0%
Majboor Aabd	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Base-e Ekmalati	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Shaheedano Tapa	78%	0%	16%	2%	4%
Kacha Garai	50%	50%	0%	0%	0%
Sangi Masjid	75%	0%	25%	0%	0%
Maqam Khan Vill.	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Farme Hada Camp	83%	0%	17%	0%	0%
Ganda Chashma	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Shaikh Mesry Camp	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Afghan Maina	32%	60%	8%	0%	0%
Qasim Abad	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Table 4: Condition of streets and in informal settlers of Jalalabad

The conditions of the streets for settlements near a main road are far better. The roads of other areas such as Ganda Chashma and Maqam Khan are all dirt roads, presumably because these settlements are situated somewhat remotely and away from any main roads or highways.



Figure 108: Dirt road inside one of the target areas



Figure 109: Concrete street, partially covered with construction debris and waste

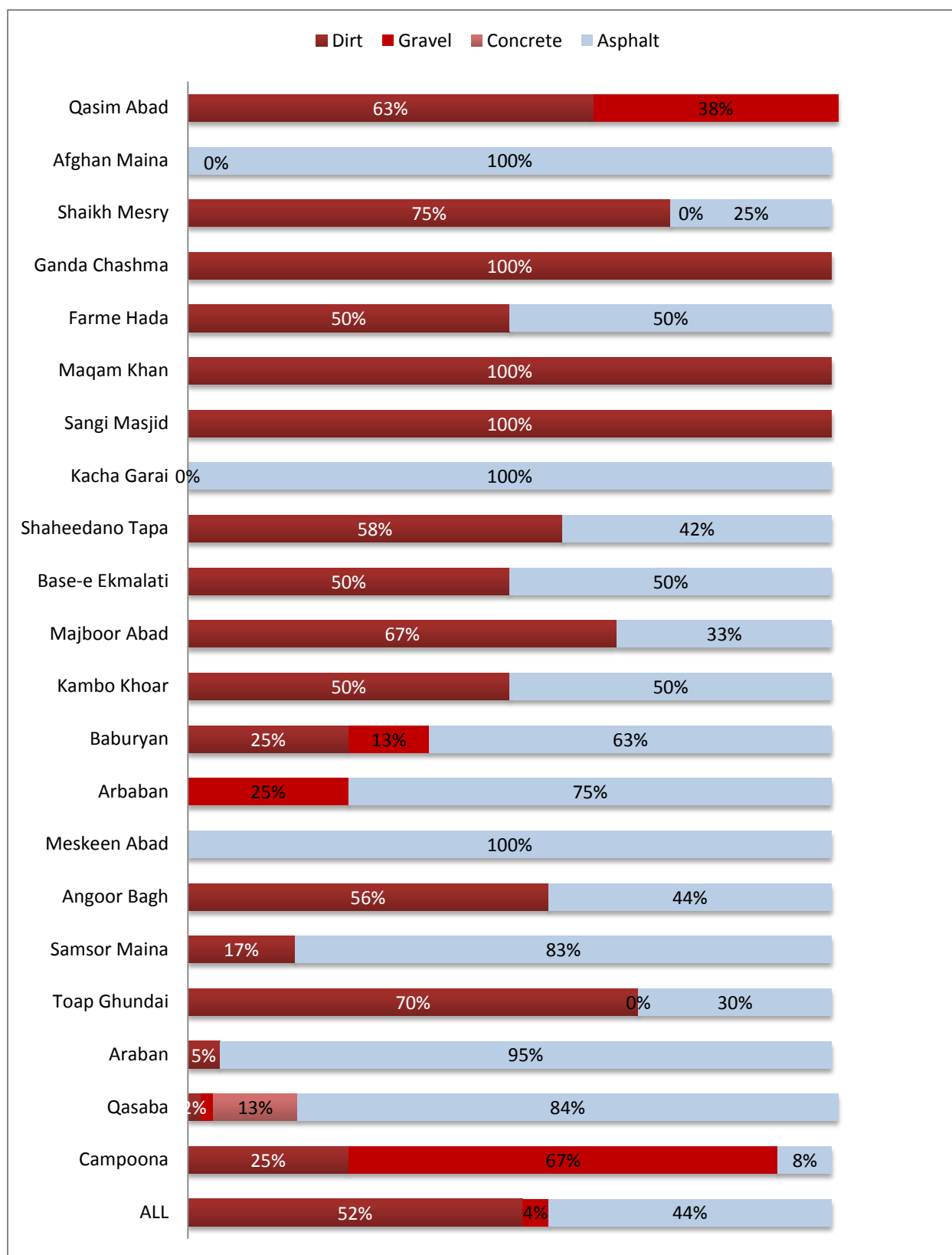


Figure 110: Condition of main roads in the informal settlements of Jalalabad

13.3 OCCURRENCE OF DISEASES

Diseases are widespread in all the informal settlements in Jalalabad. Many of these diseases (e.g. malaria and hepatitis) are preventable by providing free vaccination. It is also telling that there are flagrant differences in the outbreak of diseases between various settlements. For example, the range in malaria outbreak is 27 percentage points (from 20 percent to 47 percent). Other diseases have a similar spread. There is not that much spread across different settlements, which suggests that there needs to be a comprehensive strategy, including the improvement of medication and the free distribution of vaccines.

	Malaria	Amebiasis	Worms	Hepatitis	Typhoid	Dysentery	Watery diarrhea	COPD	Asthma	Pneumonia
ALL	25%	3%	1%	3%	12%	5%	19%	4%	2%	27%
Campoona	30%	0%	4%	7%	11%	7%	7%	4%	0%	30%
Qasaba	25%	0%	0%	13%	6%	6%	13%	6%	6%	25%
Araban	27%	0%	2%	10%	9%	7%	10%	5%	3%	27%
Toap Ghundai	12%	0%	0%	0%	3%	7%	32%	3%	2%	41%
Samsor Maina	29%	0%	0%	0%	16%	0%	13%	0%	6%	35%
Angoor Bagh	28%	0%	0%	0%	8%	0%	28%	15%	0%	21%
Meskeen Abad	47%	7%	0%	0%	7%	7%	27%	0%	0%	7%
Arbaban	21%	5%	0%	0%	11%	0%	21%	0%	5%	37%
Baburyan	24%	10%	0%	3%	21%	0%	14%	0%	3%	24%
Kambo Khoar	29%	0%	10%	0%	19%	0%	14%	5%	0%	24%
Majboor Aabd	31%	0%	0%	0%	3%	6%	29%	14%	6%	11%
Base-e Ekmalati	37%	3%	0%	0%	3%	3%	23%	7%	3%	20%
Shaheedano Tapa	19%	1%	0%	1%	6%	0%	32%	0%	0%	42%
Kacha Garai	30%	3%	0%	3%	17%	0%	17%	3%	3%	23%
Sangi Masjid	25%	0%	0%	0%	13%	0%	19%	6%	0%	38%
Maqam Khan Village	24%	2%	1%	4%	19%	5%	10%	5%	4%	26%
Farme Hada Camp	20%	13%	0%	3%	20%	3%	17%	0%	0%	23%
Ganda Chashma	25%	6%	0%	6%	8%	9%	18%	6%	3%	19%
Shaikh Mesry Camp	23%	7%	2%	2%	13%	15%	17%	2%	0%	20%
Afghan Maina	22%	4%	0%	1%	17%	1%	19%	0%	6%	30%
Qasim Abad	31%	0%	0%	0%	23%	0%	17%	0%	0%	29%

Table 5: Occurrence of diseases in informal settlements

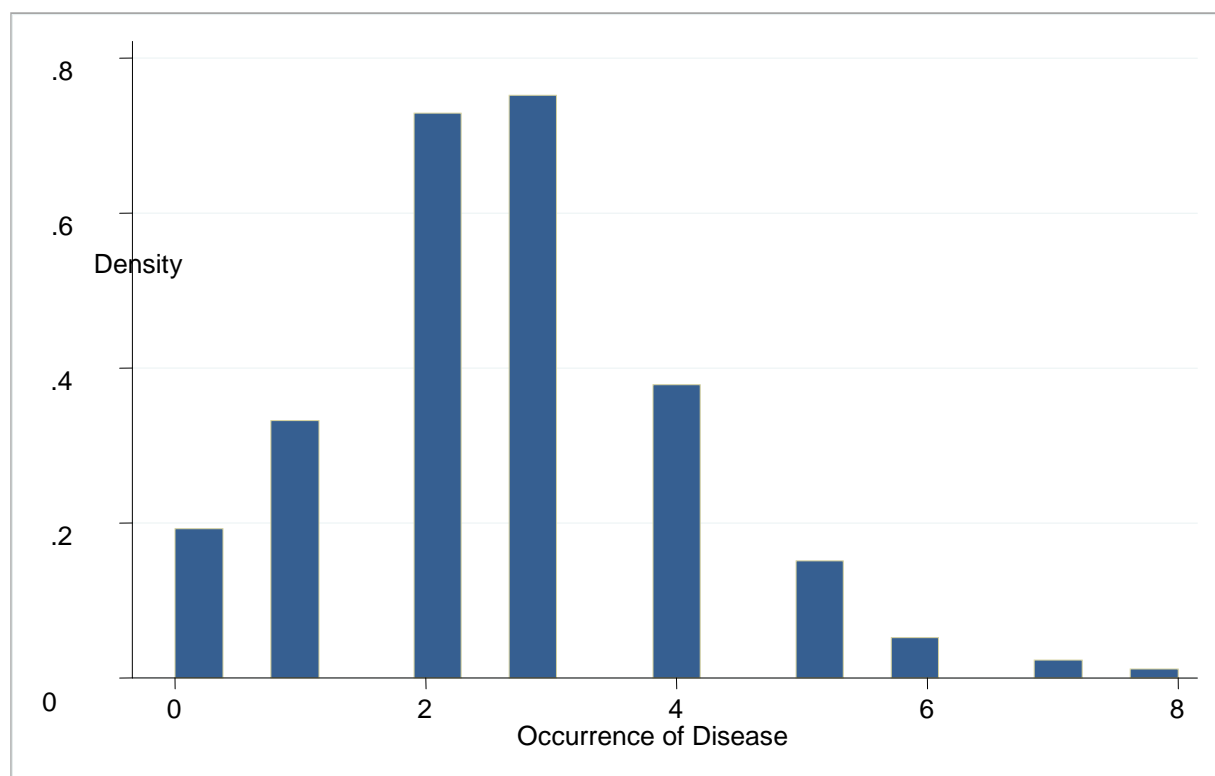
14 INFERENCES TO DRAW FROM THIS STUDY

From the survey results it becomes clear that the majority of the informal dwellers considers the *Urfi Qabala* a credible landownership document, even given weight in the court. Respondents have shown little concern regarding their tenure arrangement. However, in some areas such as Qasim Abad the concern is high.

Not only do the informal dwellers have very few disputes among themselves and with the government, overall, but they do not fear eviction or losing their property. In fact, as this research has highlighted, only 17.5 percent of all respondents are either less satisfied or not satisfied at all with their tenure arrangement. Dissatisfaction might stem from having been subject to corruption within the local authorities due to their illegal status. Efforts in this sense should focus on strengthening the land management system, land use planning, provision of affordable land and the ability of the local authorities to keep up with the development of the city.

Overall, the survey findings indicate that the living situation of the settlers is deficient. Many houses are built with poor construction materials and/or have no or inadequate sanitary facilities (e.g. toilets, washrooms), there seems to be a lack of electricity, as well as poor infrastructure (e.g. only one out of ten roads are built with asphalt or concrete). In addition, the garbage collection system is rudimentary at best and sometimes nonexistent. Investments should be urgently geared toward improving infrastructure, providing clean water and electricity, and improving sanitation in the houses.

While infrastructure projects, in general, are a sound way of improving the living situations in the informal settlements, this survey also allows the evaluation of some of the factors that lead to the high occurrence of diseases in the settlements. While only 5 percent of families did not suffer from any disease, the maximum number of diseases a family was affected with over a course of three months was eight. The mean disease rate for the sample was 2.6 diseases per family per every three months. The graph below also indicates that either three or four diseases hit most households. The researchers engaged in this study have calculated descriptive statistics by summarizing the positive answers from questions 78 (1) to 78 (10). This index or scale that measures the number of diseases each family was hit with over the course of the three months prior to the survey serves as the dependent variable of the inferential part of this study, which follows.



This dependent variable of the survey – the occurrence of diseases - can also be perceived as a proxy variable for citizens' living conditions. If families are constantly hit by disease, they are circumscribed in their ability to work, earn money and contribute to their families' social and political environment. The researchers hypothesizes seven variables (age of the house, ownership status, quality of toilets, bathrooms and cooking space, the presence of clean water, and residents' income) that impact the number of diseases per household. For the purpose of the analysis the researchers has re-coded many of the variables. A description of the variables included as well as their operationalization can be found below.

- a. Firstly, it is assumed that a positive impact between the age of the house and the number of diseases will be present. Older houses are assumed as more run down, shabbier and built with less sophisticated construction materials; all of which should lead to poorer living conditions, which in turn render the occurrence of disease more prevalent. The researchers have operationalized the variable by the year the house was built.
- b. Secondly, the researchers assumed that tenants live in worse conditions than homeowners and thus should be more prone to catching diseases. The rationale behind this assumption is that tenants are most likely poorer (they might not be able to afford their own house) and that the owners of tenanted properties are probably not as willing to make renovations because they don't live there themselves. This variable is coded as a dummy variable (one for people that live in their own house, two for people that rent a house).

- c. Thirdly, the researchers hypothesized that an adequate toilet system preferably inside with running water should lead to increased sanitation, which should curb the spread of disease. The indicator is operationalized by a four item categorical variable. Houses with no toilets are coded zero, houses with outdoor toilets one, houses with indoor toilets two, and houses with both indoor and outdoor toilets three.
- d. Fourth, the researchers applied the same rationale of the toilets to the bathrooms. Houses with adequate bathrooms allow residents to wash and be hygienic, which should hinder the spread of disease. The coding for bathrooms follows the coding for toilets.
- e. Regarding the kitchen, the researchers assumed a clean kitchen to be a prerequisite for preparing healthy food, which in turn stops diseases from spreading. The variable has been operationalized by a three item ordinal variable. Houses with no cooking space are coded zero, houses with an outdoor cooking space one and houses with an indoor cooking space two.
- f. Second to last, the researchers expected to see a positive relationship between clean drinking water and the occurrence of diseases. Frequently, bacteria or pathogenic germs are present in the drinking water. If this is the case then the risk of infection is very high. To measure the water quality, the researchers creates a dummy variable. All areas where people judge their drinking water to be clean are coded one, all other areas zero.
- g. Finally, the researchers assumed that the household income has a negative impact on the number of diseases per family. Not only should the higher living standard be associated with a higher income, but also the possibilities of having diseases treated early on should hinder the contagion and further spread of disease.

To measure the impact of the researchers' seven theoretically informed covariates on the dependent variable – the number of diseases in the three months prior to the interview— the analysts used Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression analysis. The distributional graph on page 24 indicates that diseases are relatively normally distributed rendering OLS an appropriate modeling device.⁵

The regression equation reads as follows:

$$\text{Number of Diseases} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{Age of the House} + \beta_2 \text{Ownership Status} + \beta_3 \text{Quality of toilets} + \beta_4 \text{Quality of Bathrooms} + \beta_5 \text{Quality of Cooking Space} + \beta_6 \text{Water Quality} + \beta_7 \text{Household Income} + \varepsilon.$$

Results⁶

⁵ As a robustness check we also run a Poisson regression. Both regressions yield the same results strengthening the findings we obtain from this analysis.

⁶ To verify that land rights have no impact on the immediate living situation of individuals, the PHO research team run a separate regression, which added the variable satisfaction with tenure arrangements into the equation. As expected the variable tenure arrangements has no impact on the number of diseases per household.

	Beta	Std. Error	Significance
Age of the House	-.00000009	.0000007	.961
Ownership Status	-.185	.169	.276
Quality of Toilets	.049	.125	.697
Quality of Bathrooms	.107	.110	.332
Quality of Cooking Space	-.102	.103	.321
Water Quality	-.756	.153	.000
Household Income	-.106	.058	.069
Constant	3.39	.335	.000
Rsquared	.08		
N	360		

Table 6: Results of the regression model measuring the number of diseases in the past 3 months

The survey regression model yields two significant variables. For and outmost, the number of diseases is reduced by improving quality of the water. The variable is statistically significant at the 99 percent confidence interval and substantively relevant. Holding everything else constant, the model predicts that households with clean water have, on average, 0.8 fewer diseases every three months than households with no clean drinking water. In other words, the average number of diseases per family decreases from 3.39 to slightly over 2.6 if the water is clean, when all other variables are held constant. This change is quite significant.

Second, the analysts' last hypothesis is confirmed. High income households suffer from fewer diseases. While the variable is only significant at the 90 percent level, its substantive impact is perceptible. The model predicts a decrease in the number of diseases by more than .seven points from the lowest to the highest income strata. The remaining five variables are not statistically significant and do not seem to impact the number of diseases per household. In particular, for the sanitation utilities, this does not mean that improving sanitation should not be addressed. Rather, it means that better utilities still improve the living situation of the people, even if they do not directly influence the number of diseases residents suffer from. The age of the house, as well as the resident's owner status also appear to have no impact on the number of diseases per family.

The practical lesson from this study is that providing clean water for the residents of the Jalalabad settlement is very important. Clean water will decrease the number of diseases and help provide a healthy environment. This task becomes more important given that less than one out of 10 households use any kind of water purification technique. Tremendous progress can be made by pushing for clean water supplies. The second finding implies that material wealth in the form of a well paid job can foster a healthy environment, where diseases have difficulties spreading. This finding also corrugates the settlers' major concern; that is, dwellers are mainly concerned about finding a decent and well paid job. In this sense, development efforts should be geared toward attracting investment and jobs, so that the settlers can improve their own living situation.

15 QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWS

15.1 OVERVIEW

The qualitative interviews confirm the relative feeling of security of the settlers in their informal settlements. They point toward the fact that the government is unable to support every community and unable to manage the large migration waves into the informal settlements of Jalalabad. The government, when there was political instability in the country has been unable to prevent dwellers or refugees from settling on government land. Some of these settlements have been established for decades and the government does not have the capacity or the willpower to properly address the situation and condition of the settlements. While the respondents from the qualitative interviews confirm that they do not feel in danger of evictions, they also reiterate many of the shortcomings in their living conditions that emerge from the quantitative survey.

One focus of the qualitative interviews was on infrastructure. In this sense, the interviews provide support for many stipulations from the quantitative data. The interviews confirm the main problems suffered by residents, such as the lack of roadways and access to basic utilities (e.g. fresh drinking water). In fact, nearly unanimously, the respondents urge the government and NGOs to construct roads, drainage systems and schools. The interviewees also point toward the need to build certain projects based on the unique needs of various settlements. These demands come from their hardships on the ground, which can differ per settlement. For example, an interviewee in Base-e Ekmalati mentioned the need to build a bridge over the nearby river. He also pointed out that they need for flood protection. More generally, flood prevention appears to be major issues for many of the settlers that live adjacent to a waterway, since residents in these areas are regularly confronted with major floods.

It is also worth noting that in a few cases where the residents' demands for infrastructure projects were met, they were very grateful; that is, they highly appreciate construction works undertaken on houses, roads, or drainage systems by NGOs or the government. However, the settlers mainly think that these infrastructure improvements are not implemented fast enough, which provokes major degrees of dissatisfaction. Implicitly or explicitly, they are also not content that advancements in road conditions or other projects lag behind in the informal settlements, compared to the relative speed of implementation of projects in formal settlements surrounding them. From the interviews that the surveyors have conducted, it also appears that a large percentage of the settlers are well aware of what happens in other informal settlements around them. These respondents are then quick to compare their situation to this or that settlements.

In addition to the need to further develop infrastructure in the settlements, the residents of the informal areas in Jalalabad confirm two additional major problems that have emerged from the quantitative survey. First, a majority of interviewees is concerned with the employment situation. They are disappointed about their work situation and blame the government for not providing enough jobs. In this sense, the findings from the interviews dovetail with the survey, in which the lack of employment opportunities was the major concern of the informal settlers. A second problem mentioned in the qualitative interviews is the cost of food, which in many cases, apparently, consumes a large portion of families' budgets.

The qualitative interviews pointed toward another problem in the informal settlements. According to Haya Khan, Head of Arazi at the Agriculture Department of Nangarhar Province the irregular house-building practices in the informal settlements render improvements in infrastructure and the construction of asphalt roads and drainage systems very difficult, because when dwellers build their houses, they do not respect or follow standard construction guidelines, such as the width of the street. Instead, they engage in various building practices. According to the interviewee, the environmental impact of these 'irregular' building practices is dire.

15.2 HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS & MIGRATION

This section summarizes the information retrieved from the qualitative interviews on the history of the settlements and migration patterns. Before delving into these substantive findings, the respondents of the focus groups and individual interviews are quickly characterized.

Focus group discussions (FDGs) and individual, in-depth interviews (IDIs) were conducted in: 1) Farme Hada, 2) Qasim Abad, 3) Bas-e Ekmalati, 4) Toap Ghondai, 5) Qasaba, 6) Campoona, 7) Miskeen Abad, 8) Afghan Maina, 9) Araban and 10) Ganda Sheshma. In total, more than 40 people participated in a total of ten FDGs and 10 people gave in-depth individual interviews. All the 50 participants of the qualitative interviews were male. The mean age of the respondents from all these interviews was 49.85 years with a standard deviation of about 16 years. The lowest age for a participant was 22 years and the oldest participant was 80 years.

Occupational category of participant	Percent	Ethnic composition of participants	Percent
<i>Shura</i>	29.27	Pashtoon	40.00
Newcomer	19.51	Tajik	12.50
<i>Wakil-i gozar</i>	14.63	Pashayi	32.50
Elder/ <i>masher</i>	9.76	Arab	15.00
Religious scholar	9.76		
Property dealer/agent	4.88		
CDC	4.88		
Community enterprise	2.44		
Construction company	2.44		
Other	2.44		
Total	100.00	Total	100.00

Table 7: Occupational and ethnic composition of participants

Most of the participants were Pashtoons (40 percent) and Pashayees (33 percent) respectively. Their average income ranged from 10,001 to 20,000 Afghanis. The focused groups were mainly comprised of Shura members, elders and newcomers.

Educational Attainment	Percent	Occupation of the participants	Percent
Secondary education	9.76	Government employee	8.57
High school	36.59	Private company worker	2.86
Bachelor's degree	9.76	Farmer	5.71
Masters	2.44	Shopkeeper	20.00
<i>Madrasa</i> (basic)	2.44	Mechanic	11.43
<i>Madrasa</i> (Intermediate)	2.44	Carpenter	8.57
Newer went to school	36.59	Builder/contractor	2.86
Total	100.00	Religious scholar	2.86
		Retired Gov. employee	5.71
		Tribal elder	11.43
		Student	8.57
		Others	11.43
		Total	100.00

Table 8: Educational attainment and occupation of the FDGs participants

Most of the individuals interviewed had either a high school education or no education at all. Pertaining to their occupation, the participants came from various professions. The most represented were shopkeepers and mechanics.

Here is a summary of the findings about the history of the settlements where the qualitative research was conducted:

1) *Farm-e Hada*: This camp, was founded in the early 1960s. Early dwellers moved there because of conflict between different Afghan factions , such as the Northern Alliance and the Taliban. People wanted to take refuge in Pakistan but Haji Abdul Qadir, governor of Nangarhar at the time, guided them to settle down in Farm-e Hada and provided the settlement with a political support. Haji Abdul Qadir remained governor until 1996 when the Taliban took over Nangarhar. He held offices in Hamid Karzai's interim government before his death in 2002. Most of the settlers of Farm-e-Hada came from Jalalabad district, as well as Kunar and Laghman provinces due to political unrest.

People in Farme Hada live there without basic amenities, like functional community infrastructure, schools and other public facilities. The camp is close to the urban area but it portrays the image of a squat or slum. The living conditions are particularly cumbersome in extreme weather conditions. So far, no government or international organization has worked there to help enhance the living conditions. Apparently, the planning department visited the location several times, but has never come back to actually build roads.

2) Qasim Abad: People started settling in Qasimabad when the government of Pakistan, the UN and other organizations stopped providing aid and shelter to the Afghan refugees in Pakistan. The refugees returned from Pakistan and started living there. Politically and administratively, these settlers were supported by the police commander of the time, Dr. Asif. After returning from Pakistan, the Afghan returnees first lived in the Canal Gardens but the landowner, Haji Deen Muhammad, forced them to evacuate his lands. Eventually, they settled in the barren land in Qasimabad that is often prone to floods even with a light rainfall.

The dwellers of Qasimabad are an ethnic mix of Tajiks, Hazaras, Pashtuns, Baloch, and others. Origin-wise, they are from different regions, such as Kama and Khugyani of Nangarhar and Laghman and Kunar provinces. The informal settlers of Qasimabad have formed councils that represent people on various issues and platforms at social and governmental levels. The councils are made up of different people from different ethnic groups. They remain united and support each other. As one interview stated: ‘We do not discriminate between blacks and whites, Tajiks and Pashtoons, or Uzbaks or Hazaras. We all are Muslims and are brothers. We all have one goal which is the development of this country. Major problems in this settlement are a lack of electricity and transportation. For those people that have electricity the costs are too high. Our major expenses go toward electricity and transportation’.

3) Base-e Ekmalati: The settlement expanded during the time of Mujahidin rule, between the fall of Communist regime and establishment of Taliban regime (1991-1996). The lands in Base-e Ekmalati were distributed by Hizb-e-Islami of Gulbudin Hikmatyar. Its settlers, however, have landownership documentations from the time of President Daud Khan (1953-1963). Others have documents issued by Communist (of “Khalqi” and “Parchami”) regime. People have different evidence of being the legal owners of the land they occupy in Base-e Ekmalati, e.g. replacement document. Replacement documents show that land was given in one area as compensation for land lost in another area. Overall, it’s recognized that people who are rich can buy lands against money. People have meager social amenities like schools and health facilities. Approximately 50,000 people live there but there is no single health center. People have councils that were formed up to 50 years ago around half a decade ago, and people are satisfied with the performance of the councils.

4) Toap Ghundai: This camp was established some 50 years ago. A cosmopolitan society has developed there over time. The local representatives confirmed that these lands were sold cheaply by a couple of wealthy individuals. Residents of Toap Ghundai, compared to other areas, are relatively poorer, and have inadequate access to basic amenities, social and community services. Educational facilities are unavailable to the settlers’ children. People are poor and a major proportion of their income is spent paying the electricity bills. One of the respondents relayed his personal scenario: “Some time ago, I got a 15,000 Afghani electricity bill. You tell me, how will I pay 15,000 Afghanis? I get mad when I think about it.”

5) Qasaba: Survey data indicates that the history of Qasaba could be traced to almost 80 years ago. It was discovered as a government land where migrants started to construct houses, mostly poor citizens in search of a shelter in Jalalabad. Initially, the lands there were large agricultural lands owned by three or four people, two of whom were named Mirza Muhammad and the Khanji, the later from Peshawar,

Pakistan. These lands were bought by people over time, and then more people settled. Qasaba gradually developed into a highly populated area and in response to the growing demand, community built some infrastructure. People have well-constructed houses and the areas look more like an urban area with 24 fully established councils. Different government and UN organizations, e.g. UN-HABITAT, have been working in the areas on community development projects. The qualitative data implies that a major development issue that the local community faces is the availability of clean drinking water. Another dire problem is solid waste management. Qasaba is located on lower lands than the rest of the Jalalabad city and therefore the waste of the city often flows into this area.

6) Campoona: This camp has existed for about 70 years now. People migrated internally from Nangarhar province due to bad security of the province at times of political unrest. Politically, the settlers were supported by Musafuddin Safey who was the governor of the province. Historically, Campoona (literary meaning camps) used to be a spot for seasonal and annual festivals. Electricity was installed and houses were built as soon as the people started to settle there. Approximately 250 families started to dwell in the camp initially. Campoona's settlers are from different districts but mainly from the same province. There are ways the municipality recognizes people and their ownership of the properties: first, through registration of the houses and residents; second, through registration of homes by providing them with a city water connection, though only a landowner can get a tap water connection; and third, through providing electricity to a group of four houses. Municipality services are being offered and people are eager to get their main and sub-roads paved. A council was formed by different people to represent them. These councils appear to be quite successful in putting forth and claiming their rights from the government. UN-HABITAT has been effective in providing the measurement of residential plots for the residents of the settlement and in providing the essential documents of occupancy.

7) Afghan Maina: This settlement is the most recent one. The first people started to live in this settlement about 62 years ago and were Pashayee who migrated from Dara-e-Noor. The informal settlers are in total despair due to neglect from the government authorities. They do not have access to the services. Municipality workers, however, are said to be collecting money for Safayi and channelization but then disappear. As one frustrated residents said:

"They don't even care whether humans or animals live here. The ditches are dirty, the roads are dirty. Everyone is troubled by the lack of drinking water. Everyone has got electricity meters but no electricity. If electricity comes for a day or two, it is followed by a bill of 500 Afghanis. We still don't understand why it happens like that. It feels very good that people like you come and ask about the problems we have. We have a lot of problems."

People are not satisfied with the municipal services either. Milli Paiwastoon (the National Solidarity Program - NSP) has been recognized as the community based, community focused organization that helped in the construction of the ditches. Due to lack of proper funding, however, quality of the development work is low. According to the people, the government provides security to its people and enhances their living conditions with the help of developmental projects. Respondents believe that the government and NGOs should provide facilities for the youth to work as they are the future of this nation. Secondly, it should urgently address the most critical issues of the settlers, such as paving streets and

roads and providing electricity. People believe that if these issues are resolved, everything else will be okay.

8) Arbaban: This area's history goes back some 90 years as it was founded during the IDI. The settlement differs from others in the vicinity as it is somewhat developed. The history revealed that when the former king of Afghanistan, Zahir Shah designed a master plan to develop the lands, people from these areas requested him not to relocate them. Zahir Shah changed his master plan and developed the areas adjacent to this settlement. Population changed over the time as described by the participant. When the revolution hit Afghanistan, people took refuge in neighboring areas came back to live in luxury as they had been exposed to such lives in the neighborhood. Previously they used to live in the rural areas and even mountains but living in exile had made them un-wanting of that life. In order to live a comfortable life they came to the city and by hook or by crook secured an area for them to live in. The living conditions are good but not all over the settlement. There are two parts of the settlement: one that came under the planned development and one that came under the unplanned dwellings. The quality of life in both of these areas is different but the people living on other side of the road, the planned area, have the facilities available and the area is developed. Property rates, however, are not much different in both parts of the settlement. People living in this settlement are called Arbabs and due to this reason, the land is called Arbaban.

9) Sheikh Mesri Camp: This camp is relatively new and is among those that were established by the families who migrated from Pakistan after 2001. People came from the Bajaur and Korma provinces of Pakistan. The place was a desert before 200 families settled there. People are those who have no place elsewhere to live in the country, so they decided to stay at Sheikh Mesri Camp. People have no property rights and have no other option to choose to live. This is a big settlement as about 1,800 families have already joined the place.

15.3 MIGRATION: PUSH, PULL AND PUSH-BACK FACTORS

The reasons for why people migrated range from migration due to natural hazards to forced migration. . In all of the settlements where the qualitative study was conducted, conflict and instability remained one of the main push factors. In Farm-e-Hada, the settlers claim that the government cannot force them to leave as they have the legal right granted by the Afghanistan's constitution to live in the area – referring to the Constitution Article No. 22 *“there shouldn't be any discrimination between any Afghans and they have the right of living and education in any corner of Afghanistan”*. The government offered the informal settlers a free land in Lata Band area where they had to construct their houses without the help of the government. People refused to leave and continued to live in the settlement. The informal dwellers are attached to the land and are not ready to relocate unless government provides them with an alternate and better shelter.

In Qasimabad, the pull factors were mainly: 1) barren and unattended lands, 2) its vicinity to the city, 3) access to job opportunities and subsistence, 4) availability of the schools for children of the settlers. Major push factors remain conflict, political instability, insecurity as well as increased conflict. Push back factor could be attributed to the floods in autumn that as inundate the houses with even a small rain

fall. DACAAR has constructed a dam for protection. The organization has also built water reservoirs and a tap water network for the community. The dwellers, however, demand that government should now take care of the maintenance of these facilities.

In Base-e Ekmalati, major pull factors could be attributed as the acquisition of lands under the distribution scheme at that time with an addition of a political factor as the Taliban helped the settlement. Here people suffer at each occurrence of heavy rains. The settlers are often threatened by the floods that are caused by rain. The houses built near the river are more vulnerable, where any housing should not be allowed.

A major pull factor for Top Ghondai is its comparatively low-priced land. There is a considerable difference between the land value and rental prices in the other settlements and Top Ghondai. Living costs that include rent, utility bills, food and transportation are reported to be approximately 80 percent lower than the other areas. On the other hand, better security at the settlement is considered another factor, as being the victims of the social and political unrest in past, people chose to live in the settlement. As one of the respondents, Wakeel Guzar said:

These people can't buy lands in other areas for living so they have to come here. There is quite a big difference in the prices of lands here and in other areas. They can't afford to pay the rent to live somewhere else. I am a property dealer and many people approach me to find rental houses because in other areas the rent can reach 10,000 Afghanis per month while in this area it is 2,000 Afghanis.

The impetus for people settled down in Qasaba, on the other hand, initially, was free unattended lands and poor agricultural lands. Most of the settlers here are working in the agricultural sector. The presence of the Bari Bacha Shrine could also be linked to the migration of the people who initially settled there and started building their houses around the Shrine. Another key pull factor is the legal rights to live on these lands and issuance of ownership documents to the people. When President Daud Khan was ruling Afghanistan, the law was that occupants who lived on a particular land for more than 30 years automatically become its owner. Hence, some of the Qasaba dwellers were issued with documents.

Compoona, however, was the settlement that was empowered by the government orders. The settlers were mostly the people from different government departments. Pull factors include the provision of secure lands, availability of households, and other amenities including the political and administrative backup for living in the camp. People were pushed out of their native districts by prolonged political unrest and instability. Land prices are high in this area. People often found it profitable to do real estate business. Since people have no issue with eviction, neither in near future nor for long run, this adds to the already many pull factors. According to a respondent, the government is apparently moving forward with its development plans:

About 13 month prior, a five-year plan was being drafted for this city. All the districts representatives, five elders from each district and all government officials have contributed to this plan which will house approximately one million people.

For Afghan Maina the pull factors include the suitability of the lands to live and push factors were the need of the place to start living. People who first started to live here were those who were in dire need for shelter. The climate is very good as settlement is a lush green area in the vicinity of the river. Lands could be sold and purchased on customary deeds and it is located near the city. People are facilitated by transport facilities and their children can go to city to seek basic and higher education.

Araban is the settlement that has pull factors including the availability of the planned and well developed area. The people are divided into two parts but since the social amenities are commonly available, the pull factors include schooling, better community infrastructure and paved roads. People on the other side of the road are not as influential. People have issues with on the power distribution in the community. There are dual attractions for the people to settle in this area. Both the poor and the rich can afford to live here. The unplanned area is relatively cheap, while the planned area is very expensive.

Sheikh Mesri Camp: people started to live in the Sheikh Mesri Camp on the orders of the governor. This land was the major pull factor being the desert and politically people were supported to stay there. This area is also close to the bazaar so people can easily find jobs. People who were not able to buy a land for their living moved here in order to secure their future as this land is from government and everyone can build a house on it because the governor allowed people to settle in the settlement.

15.4 LAND VALUE, REAL ESTATE PRACTICES AND COST OF LIVING

Land values differ significantly from settlement to settlement. These have been calculated from the average prices quoted in FDGs and IDIs. The figure below portrays the true picture on the land value.

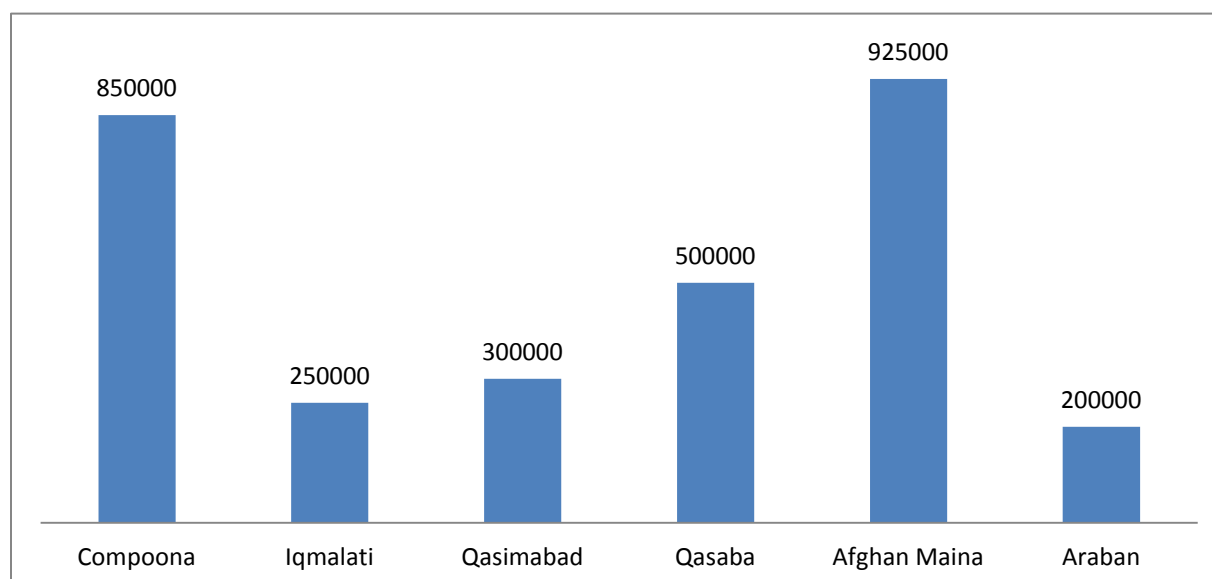


Figure 111: Land price per biswa by settlement-- Currency AFA

The above chart shows varying land price patterns by settlement. (The settlements, where the interviewees only rent houses are not shown here.)

15.5 TENURE ARRANGEMENTS AND TENURE SECURITY

The majority of the settlers have been living in these informal areas for decades. However, they still have no proper landownership documents. As the qualitative data implies, the *Shura* representatives have been discussing the issue for a long time yet it remains unresolved. People demand from the government to give them the legal rights of the land they live on, in addition to building schools and proper drainage systems. Most of the schools in these areas are poorly built; they have no walls or classrooms, which is especially problematic in the rain and extreme heat.

The most important issues in Top Ghundai are shelter, educational and health facilities. The survey qualitative data indicates that the Top Ghundai is under served; no government support is provided and people are suffering from the neglect. Some five years ago, UN-HABITAT started to provide community support for the construction of ditches. They created a governing body, a council, to manage and oversee the work. The work, however, lacked a proper sustainability plan and the infrastructure has deteriorated. The dwellers of Top Ghundai now expect the government to provide financial support to build houses, collect solid waste and pave the roads.

The tenure arrangements in Arbaban are relatively better than rest of the settlements but the area suffers poorer living conditions.

15.6 GENERAL INFRASTRUCTURE, CONSTRUCTION INVESTMENTS

The infrastructure is relatively better in the settlements close to main roads. Infrastructure varies also according people's income. Settlements located close to the city provide more options for the in terms of livelihood opportunities. In the settlements where the people have the right to sale and purchase land, infrastructure is improving and relatively better than other areas.

Construction practices also vary by settlement. In Farm-e-Hada, one of the respondents said:

“People who are rich can afford building houses themselves, but all the people living here are poor. These are those people who wanted to take refuge in Pakistan but Haji Qadir allotted these lands and helped us to live here. We can't afford to build houses here. All we want from the government is to give us the legal rights of the land we live on. Build us a school and proper drainage systems because the only school we have doesn't have walls or classrooms.”

15.7 COMMUNITY REPRESENTATION

All settlements have some form of community representation. Other than choosing their *wakil-i gozars*, some have formed councils that have access to government departments. These councils are more effective at tackling the issues of conflict at local level. In Farm-e-Hada for example, people have four

representatives in the council. With the help of the council representatives, people can address the government. The main concern for the people is to have the property rights in the camp because people are extremely poor and are not able to purchase alternative lands for the construction of their houses.

15.8 SECURITY CONCERNS

Security is a real concern for most of the respondents particularly for those living in areas that are under direct threat of inundation. Most of the settlements suffering natural hazards are assisted by different national and international NGOs. The problem arises when there is a need to restructure and revitalize the safety measures like the overhauling of small dams to save the communities from rainwater. Sustainability is a major issue. There is also a problem the assessment of the danger as well. Feasibility studies should be conducted in all the areas that are prone to floods. A sustainable and long-term effective mechanism needs to be put in place to save people and their habitation.

15.9 GENERAL SATISFACTION

People's satisfaction is lowest in areas where people do not have the land ownership rights. People who have built their houses in places where they are owners of the land are looking to the government to provide them the ownership rights. These people are represented by their local council and feel that this is their protections against any threat of the eviction from the land they occupy.

15.10 FURTHER FINDINGS FROM THE QUALITATIVE STUDY

Infrastructure: Most of the settlements are unrecognized by the government departments and are not regulated in public domain. The settlements were established on places that are mostly unimportant for the habitation of cities and villages, e.g., the Qasimabad settlement is extremely prone to the floods even with low rain and in Farne Hada settlement, winds can destroy the camps and schools because most of the community is still living without formally constructed homes and children study in tent camps.

People of Qasimabad are requesting to repair the dam, constructed by a non-profit organization, to be repaired by the government.

Some settlements progressed over the time. For example, the Qasaba settlement is now the most expensive settlement to inhabit. The reasons are multifaceted. People who started to live here were those who purchased agricultural lands and earned their sustenance by growing the crops. It is also close to the city and gradually people earn sufficiently to construct their houses.

Social and public amenities: The social and public amenities are the responsibility of the government to provide to the people without any discrimination. The in-depth interviews revealed that there are more settlements where the basic amenities, starting from sanitation to safe drinking water, from schools to public health centers, are lacking. Arbaban is the area where the facilities are available through the nearby developed community. In general we can conclude that people with property rights are better on accounts of social amenities than those who have no rights on property like Farne Hada and Toop Ghundai.

Property rights and people's investment in lands: In the realm of the past history of the settlements and internal migration being most frequent, the law of the country provides maximum relaxation to the people to settle anywhere in the country, but still some settlements lack proper documentation from the municipalities. This means the lack of commitment from government to annex people with their problems. People consider living on any lands of the country while quoting clause 22 of the Afghanistan's law. Due to large number of internal migrations, government might not be able to trace them all to regulate property their property rights but the role municipalities have to play could be extended.

Sustainability, government and organizations: People have not been in the uncertain situation about their lands but most of them are hapless and are only able to sustain their dwellings with the help of international organizations. Government departments are not much active and UN-HABITAT has been found active particularly in the community planning and development. However, most of the work, the local or international organizations have done needs sustainability. Sustainability is not possible without the help of government. Government departments, particularly the municipality has not been found actively participating in the welfare of the people living in these settlements.

16 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has assessed the living situation of settlers in the informal settlements in Jalalabad. The survey findings have identified a poor housing situation, faulty infrastructure, the presence of illness and diseases as major problems. In addition, the informal settlements of Jalalabad are characterized by an apparent scarcity of employment opportunities and sustainable livelihoods. Both the qualitative and the quantitative survey alert to that problem. The survey findings indicate four key strategies to improve informal settlements:

1. Distribute free vaccines to eradicate infectious diseases such as malaria and hepatitis and the containment of diseases that affect households and ultimately livelihoods.
2. Provide safe water sources and purification facilities.
3. Invest in improving the road and drainage systems.
4. Address the poor economic situation by attracting investments in informal settlements as well as providing employment opportunities.

17 ANNEXES

ANNEX 1: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

ANNEX 2: SAMPLING PLAN & REPLACEMENT OF THE SPS

ANNEX 3: TABULAR REPORTS

(Inside back cover)

A typical back cover may include:

- Quotations
- Photos and captions
- Maps
- Web addresses
- CD sleeve
- Die-cut pocket

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